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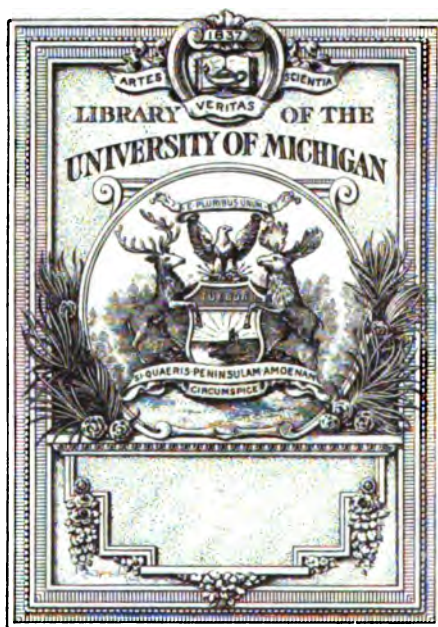
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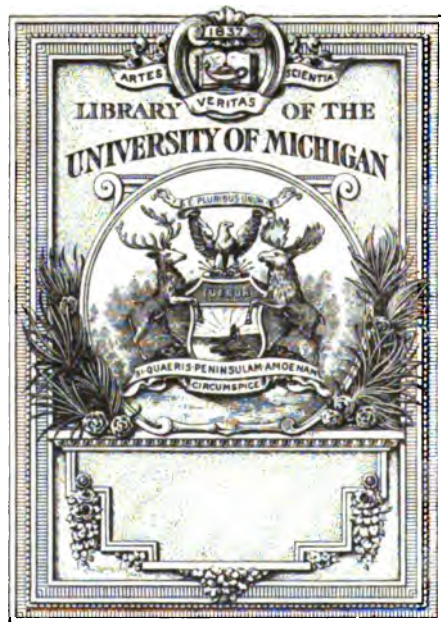
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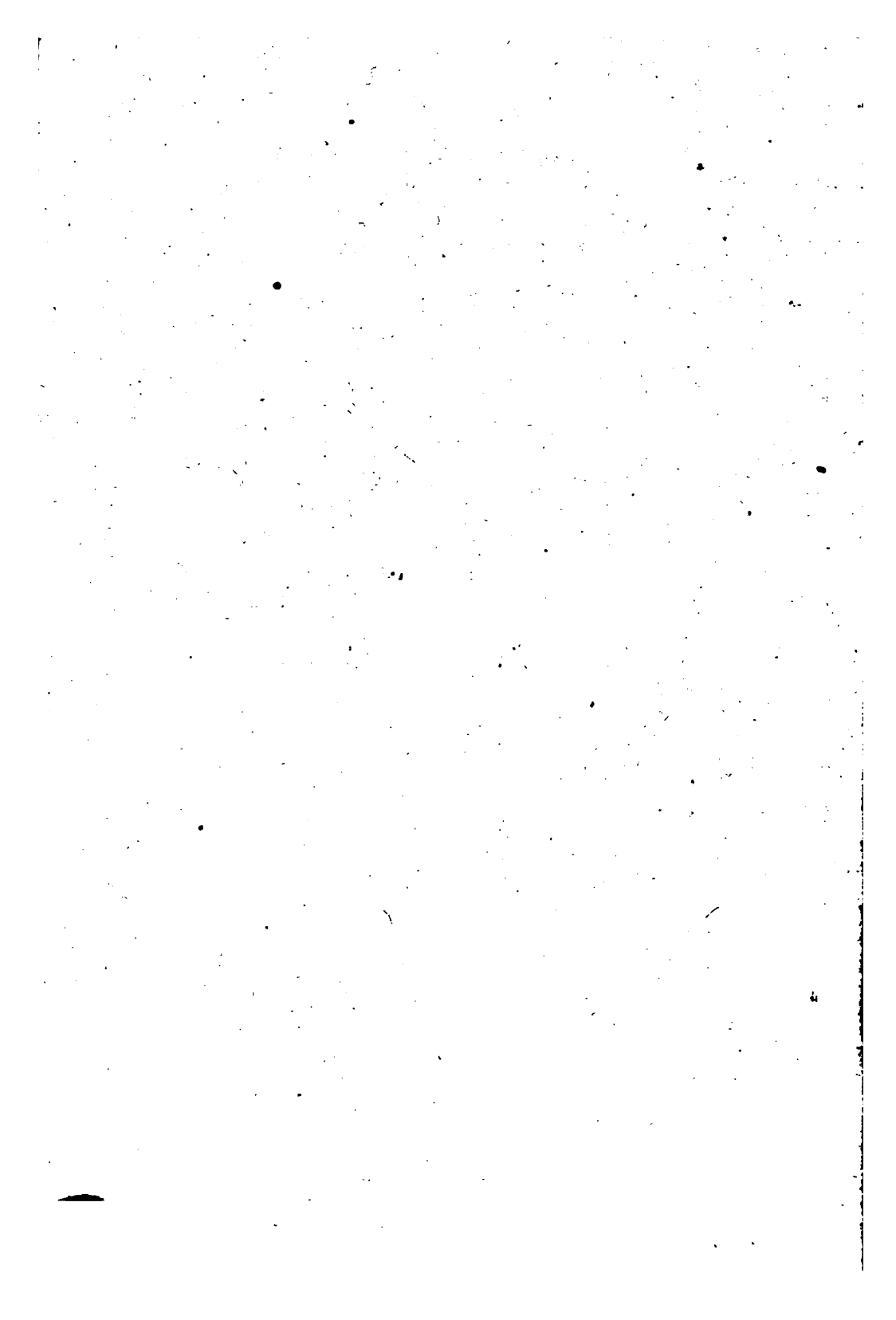
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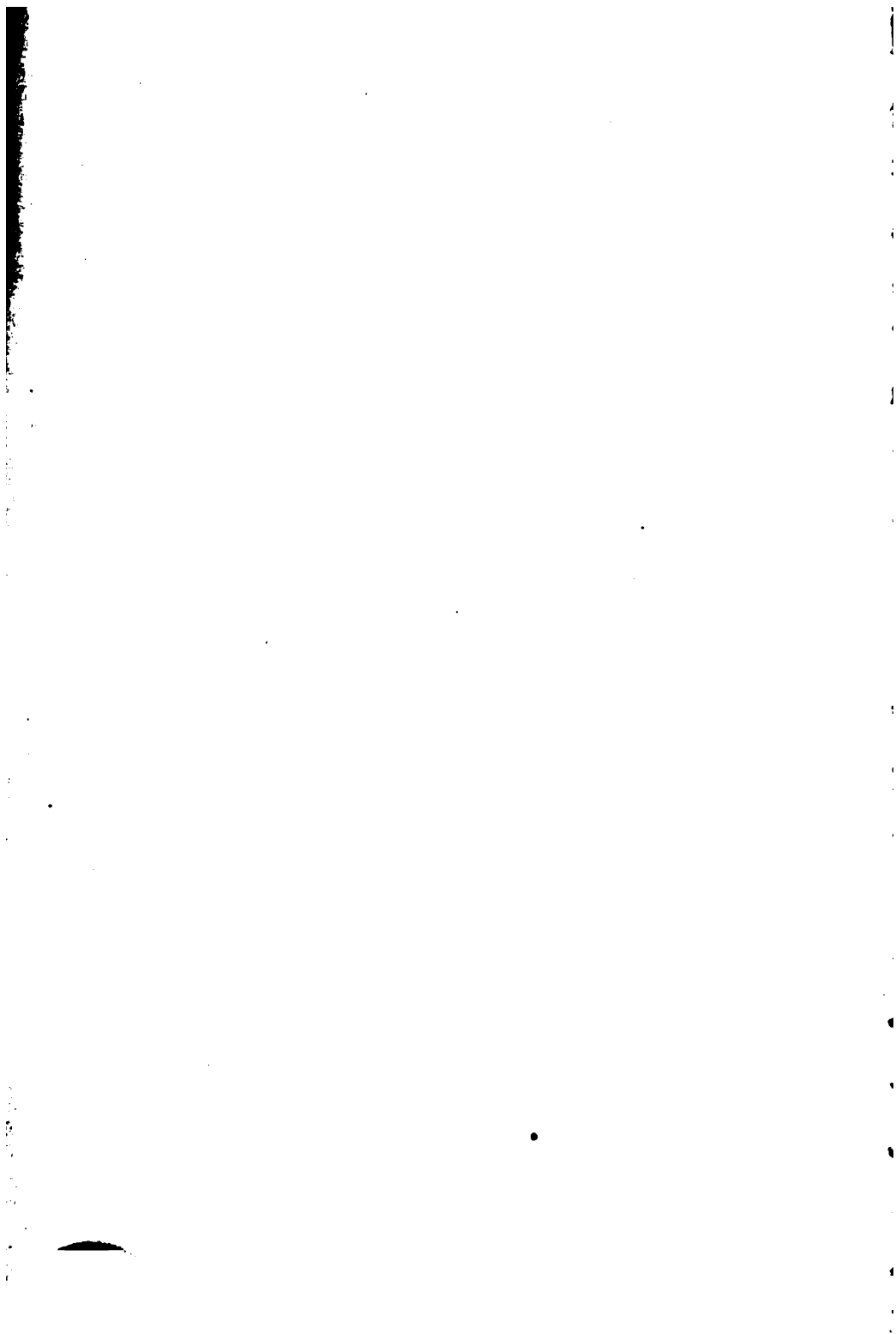
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE FALL OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

VOLUME V.



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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

BY

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.



VOLUME V.

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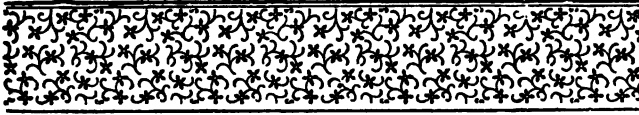
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ERRATA—VOL. V.

- Page 8, line 30, for 'the expenses,' read 'the annual expenses.'
 „ 36, line 22, for 'but,' read 'lest.'
 „ 83, line 30, for 'invaders,' read 'assailants.'
 „ 107, note *, line 4, for 'two thousand,' read 'ten thousand.'
 „ 118, line 5, *dele* 'right.'
 „ 194, line 9, for 'further,' read 'no further.'
 „ 353, line 23, for 'this,' read 'the.'
 „ 356, line 5, for 'Surrey,' read 'Scory.'
 „ 404, line 9, for 'their reverent,' read 'the irreverent.'



CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

I HAVE said that, in the selection of his executors, Henry VIII. was guided by the desire to leave a government behind him in which the parties of reaction and of progress should alike be represented, and should form a check one upon the other. No individual among them was given precedence over another, because no one could be trusted with supreme power. On both sides names were omitted which might naturally have been looked for. Gardiner was struck from the list as violent and dangerous; Lord Parr the queen's brother, Lord Dorset who had married Henry's niece, were passed over as sectarian or imprudent; and, whatever further changes the king might himself have contemplated, he may be presumed to have desired that the existing order of things in Church and State should be maintained as he had left it till Edward's minority should expire.

In anticipation of the contingency which had now arrived, an act of parliament had been passed several years before, empowering sovereigns who might succeed to the crown while

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
January.
The principle which guided Hen. VIII., in his choice of executors,

Was to prevent changes of importance during his son's minority.

CH. 24. under age, to repeal by letters patent all measures which might have been passed in their names; and this act, without doubt, was designed to prohibit regents, or councils of regency, from meddling with serious questions.* But the king did not leave the world without expressing his own views with elaborate explicitness. He spent the day before his death in conversation with Lord Hertford and Sir William Paget on the condition of the country. He urged them to follow out the Scottish marriage to the union of the crowns, and by separate and earnest messages he commended Edward to the care both of Charles V. and of Francis I.† So much they communicated to the world; with respect to the rest they kept their secret. It is known only that he continued his directions to them as long as he could speak, and they were with him when he died.

Henry gives
his last in-
structions
to Lord
Hertford,

Who forms
other
schemes

Whatever he said, however, the Earl of Hertford never afterwards dared to appeal to the verbal instructions of Henry as a justification of the course which he intended to follow. He had formed other schemes, and he had determined in his own mind that he was wiser than his master. The Earl of Hertford, ardent, generous, and enthusiastic, the popular successful general, the uncle of Edward, was ill satisfied with the limited powers and the narrow sphere of action which had been assigned him. He saw England, as he believed, ripe for mighty changes easy of

* 28 Henry VIII. cap. 17.

† Memoranda of Directions to the Ambassadors in France and Flanders: *MS. State Paper Office.*

accomplishment. He saw in imagination the yet imperfect revolution carried out to completion, and himself as the achiever of the triumph remembered in the history of his country. He had lived in a reign in which the laws had been severe beyond precedent and when even speech was criminal. He was himself a believer in liberty; he imagined that the strong hand could now be dispensed with, that an age of enlightenment was at hand when severity could be superseded with gentleness and force by persuasion.

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
January.

For progress, liberty, and enlightenment;

But, to accomplish these great purposes, he required a larger measure of authority. Before the king's body was cold, in the corridor outside the room where it was lying, he entreated Paget to assist him in altering the arrangements, and Paget, with some cautions and warnings, and stipulating only that Hertford should be guided in all things by his advice, consented.*

He intrigues to obtain the Protectorate.

It was now three o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January. The king had died at two, and after this hurried but momentous conversation, the earl hastened off to bring up the Prince, who was in Hertfordshire with Elizabeth. In his

* Two years after, Paget reminded Hertford of their conversation, and of his own warnings. 'What seeth your Grace,' he wrote. 'Marry, the king's subjects all out of discipline, out of obedience, carrying neither for Protector nor king. What is the matter? Marry, sir, that which I said to your Grace in the gallery. Liberty! Liberty!

and your Grace's too much gentleness, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor—the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, 'Oh, sir, there was never man that had the hearts of the poor as you have.'—Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

CH. 24. haste he took with him the key of the will, for
 which Paget was obliged to send after him. In
 A.D. 1547. returning it, he recommended that for the present
 January. some caution should be used in communicating
 the contents to the world.* The world should
 experience the benefit of the alterations before
 it was made aware of the nature of them.

Edward is
 brought to
 the Tower. In the afternoon of Monday the 31st he ar-
 rived at the Tower with Edward. The death of
 Henry had been formally made known only in
 the morning of that day. The council was in
 session, and Paget had already proposed a pro-
 tectorate. Lord Wriothesley, the chancellor,
 spoke earnestly in opposition. Protectorates,
 especially when they had been held by the uncles
 of kings, had been occasions of disaster and crime;
 the Protector in the minority of Henry VI. had
 ruined the finances and lost France; Edward V.
 had been murdered by the Duke of Gloucester.
 But Paget's influence was stronger than Wri-
 othesley's, and the chancellor reluctantly ac-
 quiescing, the form of government, as disposed
 by Henry, was modified on Hertford's appearance
 in the following instrument.

'We, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas
 Lord Wriothesley, Chancellor of England, Wil-
 liam Lord St. John, John Lord Russell, Edward
 Earl of Hertford, John Viscount Lisle, Cuthbert
 Bishop of Durham, Anthony Browne, William
 Paget, Edward North, Edward Montague, An-

* Hertford to Paget: TYTLER'S *Edward and Mary*, vol. i.
 p. 15.

thony Denny, and William Herbert, being all assembled together in the Tower of London the last day of January, have reverently and diligently considered the great charge committed to us, and calling to Almighty God for his aid and assistance, have resolved and agreed with one voice to stand to and maintain the last will and testament of our late master in every part and article of the same.

‘Further, considering the greatness of the charge, the multitude of business, the number of executors appointed with like and equal charge, it should be more than necessary, as well for the honour, surety, and good government of the most royal person of the king our sovereign lord that now is, as for the more certain and assured direction of his affairs, that some special man of the number aforesaid should be preferred in name and place before other, to whom, as to the head of the rest, all strangers and others might have access, and who for his virtue, wisdom, and experience in things were meet and able to be a special remembrancer, and to keep a most certain account of all our proceedings, which otherwise could not choose within short time but grow into much disorder and confusion—

‘We, therefore, the archbishop and others whose names be hereunto subscribed, by our whole consent, concord, and agreement, upon mature consideration of the tenderness and proximity of blood between our sovereign lord that now is, and the said Earl of Hertford, by virtue of the authority given unto us by the said will and testament of

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
January.

The executors, considering the importance of the charge committed to them,

Decide that one of their number shall have precedence of the rest,

6 *Proposal for an Increase of the Peerage.*

CH. 24. our said late sovereign lord and master for the doing of any act or acts that may tend to the honour and surety of our sovereign lord that now is, or for the advancement of his affairs, have given unto him the chief place among us, and also the name and title of the Protector of all the realms and dominions of the king's majesty, and governor of his most royal person, with the special and express condition that he shall not do any act but with the advice and consent of the rest of the executors, in such manner, order, and form as in the will of our late sovereign lord is appointed and prescribed, which the said Earl hath promised to perform accordingly.*

A.D. 1547.
February.
And select
the Earl of
Hertford,
as being
the king's
uncle,

On condition that
he do
nothing
without the
consent of
the rest.

The Protectorate had been gained with little difficulty; the conditions with which it was fettered could in due time be disposed of.

The other provisions in the will fell next under consideration. A clause directed that all provisions made by the king in his lifetime should be fulfilled by the executors. On Sunday, the 6th of February, Paget said that a few weeks previously Henry had spoken to him of the decay of the English nobility. Many peerages had become extinct, 'some by attainder, some by misgovernance and riotous living, some by sickness and other means.' The order required refreshment with new blood, and Paget had been requested to make a 'book of names' of persons whom it was desirable to advance. A list had

The late
king had
designed a
new crea-
tion of
peers,

* Records of the Privy Council: Edward VI. *MS. Council Office.*

been drawn, in which Hertford had been named CH. 24.
for a dukedom, Parr for a marquisate, Lisle,* A.D. 1547. St.
John† and Russell for earldoms, Sir Thomas February.
Seymour, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir Richard Rich,
Sir William Willoughby, Sir R. Arundel, Sir Ed-
ward Sheffield, Sir John St. Leger, Sir — Wym-
bish, Sir Christopher Danby, and Vernon of the
Peak, for baronies. The king entered opposite
to each name the grants which should accompany
the titles; and Paget had then submitted the
royal intentions to the different candidates.

Some of these gentlemen, however, were un-
ambitious; others, perhaps, considered the estates
allotted them too small to maintain an increased
rank. There was a general expression of dis-
satisfaction, and the king hesitated what to do.
Paget was directed to make another list, entering And had
employed
Sir W.
Paget to
make lists.
himself the endowments which would be thought
adequate. A dukedom he again fixed for Hert-
ford, and an earldom for his son, 'with 800 pound
lands, and 300 pound of the next bishop's lands
which should fall vacant.' Sir Thomas Seymour
should be Lord Seymour of Sudleye, with 500
lands; and he suggested grants on a similar scale
for all the rest of the executors except for himself.

The new schedule was read over to Henry in
the presence of Sir William Herbert and Sir
Anthony Denny.

'Mr. Secretary has remembered all men save
one,' said Herbert. 'You mean himself,' replied

* John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

† Paulet, afterwards Marquis of Winchester.

CH. 24. the king. 'I remember him well enough, and he shall be helped.'

A.D. 1547.
February.

But no distinct conclusion was arrived at. The grants were profuse and the crown was in debt. Henry 'put the book in his poke,' and died without returning to the subject.*

The ex-
ecutors de-
termine to
carry out
the in-
tention,

The silence, however, was construed favourably. The hypothetical bequests in their own favour which the will did not contain they held themselves bound to accomplish. The legacies in money which were specially named they held it prudent to suspend, although, indeed, considerable sums were left to themselves. France might go to war with them to recover Boulogne. 'Their imperfect friend the Emperor' might go to war with them to reimpose the authority 'of the Bishop of Rome.' It would be unsafe to empty the treasury of coin, and 'leave the realm impoverished.' Making a merit of their virtue, they would wait with the other legatees for a more convenient season.

But they
neglect the
injunctions
in the will
of Henry to
pay the
debts of the
crown,

Another matter of importance was put off for the same reason. The will ordained that the crown debts should have preference over every other disposition, and the encumbrances left by the war were still undischarged. The king had set the dangerous example of taking up money at interest from the Fuggers at Antwerp. Owing to the change of habits in the higher classes and to other causes, the expenses of the household,

* Records of the Privy Council: Edward VI. *MS. Council Office.*

which at the beginning of Henry's reign had been but 14,000*l.*, had slowly and gradually risen. In the last year they had made a sudden violent start, in consequence of the rise of prices which attended the infection of the currency, and the charges for the last six months had reached 28,000*l.* Much of this was still unpaid, and again there were the loans from the Mint, met hitherto by the expedient of depreciation, which required an instant remedy. In the last four years, 24,000 lb. weight of silver had been coined, mixed on an average with an equal quantity of alloy.* The gain to the crown from this dangerous source had been 50,000*l.* The duty of the executors was to call in the impure coin. The estates which they divided among themselves to support their new honours might have been sold for five times the amount which in this early stage of the disease would have been required.

But Henry himself had been, perhaps, unaware of the peril of meddling with the currency. It seems not to have occurred to the council—perhaps it did not occur to him—that where a small quantity of debased coin is thrown into the midst of a circulation generally pure, the good will inevitably sink to the level of the bad. The money of the State could not be wasted in the payment of debts either to the Fuggers or to the Mint. In the large schemes which the Protector was meditating, the currency might prove a convenient resource.

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
February.

And they overlook also the condition of the currency.

* *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. p. 176.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
February.
Hertford is
made Duke
of Somerset.

With the appropriation of the estates followed the distribution of honours and dignities. On the 16th of February it was ordered in council that Hertford should be Duke of Somerset, his brother should be Lord Seymour of Sudleye, Lord Parr was to be Marquis of Northampton, Lisle and Wriothesley Earls of Warwick and Southampton. The patents were made out the next day at the Tower,* and the will of Henry was thus disposed of.

The
bishops re-
new their
oaths to the
crown.

The next step was to show the bishops that the change of rulers had not restored their liberty. They were to regard themselves as possessed of no authority independent of the crown. They were not successors of the apostles, but merely ordinary officials; and, in evidence that they understood and submitted to their position, they were required to accept a renewal of their commissions. Cranmer set the willing example, in an acknowledgment that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as secular, within the realm, only emanated from the sovereign.† The other prelates consented, or were compelled, to imitate him.‡

* *Privy Council Records*,
Edward VI. *MS.*

† Quando quidem omnis iurisdicendi auctoritas atque etiam iurisdicatio omni modo tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur quam secularis a Regiâ potestate velut a supremo cepite ac omnium magistratum intra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit.—Cranmer's Renewal of his Commission: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

‡ Gardiner complained to

Paget, holding Paget in some way as responsible. Paget replied, 'I malign not bishops, but would that both they and all others were in such order as might be most to the glory of God and the benefit of this realm; much less I malign your Lordship, but wish ye well; and if the estate of bishops is or shall be thought meet to be reformed, I wish either that you were no bishop, or that you could have such a pliable will as could bear reforma-

But for the measures which the reforming party meditated, the Protector was not yet wholly in the position which he or they desired.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
February.

He was hampered by a council of which the chancellor was a member; and so long as he could do nothing without the council's consent, he could but walk in the track which Henry had marked for him. Wriothesley, however, by a fortunate want of judgment, gave Somerset an opportunity to shake him off. There was a jealousy of old standing in the profession to which he belonged between the civilians and the common law lawyers. The sympathies of the chancellor were with the former, and believing that he held his office irresponsibly and irremoveably, and finding his occupation at the council-board interfere with his duties as a judge, he made out a commission in the king's name to the Master of the Rolls and three civilians, empowering them to hear and determine causes in the Court of Chancery as his representatives. The students at the inns of court complained to the council. The judges being consulted, reported unanimously that the issue of a commission under the great seal without sanction from the crown was an offence by which, 'by the common law,' the chancellor had forfeited his office; and when first called to account, Wriothesley enhanced his misdemeanour by 'me-

The Lord Chancellor grants a commission under the great seal, without the sanction of the council,

tion. Your Lordship shall have your commission in as ample a manner as I have authority to make out the same, and in as ample a manner as you had it before, which I think you may execute now with less fear of danger than you have had cause hitherto to do.'—Paget to Gardiner: *TITLEB*, vol. i. p. 25.

CH. 24. nacing divers of the learned men,' and 'using
 unfitting words to the Lord Protector.' The
 A.D. 1547. council 'considered what danger might ensue, if
 March. the great seal of England, whereby the king and
 the realm might be bound, should continue in
 the hands of so stout and arrogant a person as
 durst presume at his will to seal without warrant;'
 and they resolved, without a dissentient voice,
 that he should be deprived.* They came to
 their determination on the morning of Sunday,
 the 6th of March. The chancellor was ordered
 to remain a prisoner in the council chamber till
 the end of the afternoon sermon. In the even-
 ing he withdrew to his house, and resigned the
 seals into the hands of Lord Seymour and Sir
 Anthony Browne.

By which
 he forfeits
 his office,
 and is
 deprived.

The Pro-
 tector,
 freed from
 the oppo-
 sition of the
 chancellor,
 assumes
 higher
 powers,

The complaint of the students and the entries
 in the Council Register contain the only sur-
 viving account of this transaction, and from an
ex parte statement no conclusion can be drawn
 on the fairness of Wriothesley's treatment. The
 Protector, however, was conveniently freed from
 his ablest opponent, and he was enabled to make
 a more considerable innovation in the structure
 of the government. A week after he took out a
 new patent for the Protectorate, which was drawn
 in Edward's name. The executors were left as
 his advisers; but, probably under the pretence that
 the chancellor's conduct made it necessary that
 their position should be more distinctly defined,
 they were now represented as the nominees of

* *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. MS.

Edward, and no longer as guardians appointed by his father. The Protector might accept their advice, or might neglect it at his own pleasure. He might act with all of them, or with 'so many as he pleased to call to his assistance.' He might choose others, should he desire the help of others. In fact, he might 'do anything which a governor of the king's person, or Protector of the realm, ought to do,' and was left to his own unfettered discretion to decide what his obligations might be.*

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
March.

The Duke of Somerset had now obtained the reality of power. His precautions in withholding such parts of the will of the late king as he desired to conceal prevented the nation from being aware generally of the extent to which he had transgressed it. He was Edward's uncle; he had the art of popularity, and the factions opposed to him were disheartened and disunited. His virtual sovereignty was submitted to, it would seem, without outward complaint or opposition. Only he was bound to remember that jealous eyes were ever on the watch upon power illegitimately obtained; that, as he had taken the Protectorate on his own responsibility, so, for such errors as he might fall into, he would be called on to give a strict account. At the very outset he was not without warning that he was on dangerous ground. His new commission was countersigned only by seven of his co-executors. The names of all the rest, and

With increased responsibilities, and increased dangers.

* Royal Commission for the Protectorate: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

CH. 24. among them the Earl of Warwick, were significantly withheld.

A.D. 1547.

March.
The Protector prays
that he may
have grace
to rule
wisely,

But partially for-
gets his
position.

He has
difficulties
before him
at home
and abroad.

If Somerset was ambitious, however, it was only (as he persuaded himself) to do good. He commenced his administration with a prayer, in which he spoke of himself as called to rule by Providence; in which he described himself as a shepherd of God's people, a sword-bearer of God's justice; in which he asked prosperity, wisdom, and victory for the great things which God was to enable him to do.* Nevertheless, such language was better suited to a prince than to a subject. His own intrigues, and not the will of Heaven, had placed him in the position which he had achieved. In a letter to the King of France he so curiously forgot himself that 'he called his majesty brother,' and Dr. Wotton, the ambassador, was requested to remind him who and what he was.† Such assistance as Heaven would grant him in his task which he had undertaken of governing England, he was likely to require. Of the religious factions at home it was essential to the welfare of the country that neither should be allowed to prevail. With foreign powers there was peace, but it was a peace which had been dearly bought, and which the most delicate skill could alone succeed in maintaining.

* 'Thou, Lord, by thy Providence hast caused me to rule. I am, by thy appointment, minister for thy king, shepherd for thy people. By Thee kings do reign, and from Thee all power

is derived; govern me as I shall govern,' &c.—STYRE: *Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 311.

† *MSS. France*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

The difficulty of the situation will be best seen CH. 24.
in a review of the general condition of Europe.

And first I shall turn to the council of Trent. A.D. 1545.
The Council of Trent.

From the commencement of the Reformation a general council had been in the mouth of the Christian world. All parties in turn had clamoured for it, all parties in turn had opposed it, as the predominant influence under which, if it assembled, it was likely to fall, varied between the great powers of Europe, the peoples, and the papacy. So long as the Emperor was entangled in the war with France he was compelled to temporize with the Protestant States of Germany, and the Germans pressed a council upon him which should be held within the frontiers of the Empire, where they could themselves be freely represented and freely heard. Such a council the Popes had as loudly deprecated, and Charles, embarrassed on one side with the necessity of After much uncertainty on all sides, conciliating the Diet, on the other with his loyalty to Catholicism, had again and again declared that a council was chiefly valuable as a possibility—as a threat—as a cannon to be kept loaded—minatory, but never to be discharged. There were books enough, he said, to determine the Catholic doctrines, codes and law courts to enforce Catholic discipline. Fresh definitions and fresh polemical organizations would only sharpen the edge of the schism and bring about a violent collision.* While the war continued the Popes consented readily to a delay, which was

* PALLAVICINO.

CH. 24. of most advantage to themselves. Without the united support of the two great Catholic monarchies they distrusted their powers of overbearing opposition. The peace of Crêpy had for the first time presented the conditions which the Court of Rome desired. Paul III., to lose no more time, sent Cardinal Farnese to the Emperor to entreat his consent. He could keep his promises to the Lutherans in the letter, if not in the spirit, by appointing for the place of assembly a city within the German frontier, where the Italian and papal influences would, nevertheless, effectively predominate.

A.D. 1545.

The Pope, after the peace of Crêpy, cites a general council to meet at Trent.

But, in deference to the objections of the Emperor, he delays the opening.

Charles, still anxious to put off an open rupture with Germany, hesitated. The Bishop of Arras replied for him, that if a council met, summoned by the Pope, the Protestants, assured of their intended condemnation, would take up arms. The Catholic States in Germany could not be relied upon, and the Elector and the Landgrave, as the best means of defending themselves, might perhaps carry the war into Italy, and dictate terms in the citadel of religion itself. The Pope would have to rely upon his own resources to protect himself; the imperial treasury was exhausted, and, though his master would give his life, he could give no more.

With some doubt of the sincerity of these objections, Paul III. for the moment gave way to them. A few cardinals and bishops had collected at Trent to arrange preliminaries. They were instructed to wear away the time in a show of making preparations, and the Pope tried to

persuade himself that the difficulty with Charles CH. 24.
was really and truly, as he pretended, a want of A.D. 1545.
power—that when opportunity should offer, he
would draw the sword with effect.*

In August the Emperor met the German Diet
at Worms, when he again held out hopes of a
satisfactory settlement. But he satisfied the
Pope behind the scenes with private assurances,
although he had alarmed the fathers at Trent by
the vagueness of his language.†

So matters stood when the Duke of Orleans
died. The war was likely to revive, and the
Pope determined that he would wait no longer.
He must make the best of the occasion while it
endured, and in December, 1545, the Council of The coun-
cil is open-
ed for des-
patch of
business.
Trent was opened for despatch of business. The
Emperor, dragged into a reluctant approval, per-
mitted the attendance of the bishops of Spain,
partly to gratify the Pope, partly to control
the Italians; and so welcome were they, and so
doubtful had been their coming, that when they
arrived, the cardinals, legates, and prelates went
out to receive them at the gates, and a special seat
of honour was assigned to the Bishop of Toledo
as the Imperial representative.‡

* 'Velle re verâ Cæsarem in
hæresim ense[m] educere.'—PAL-
LAVICINO.

† 'Eoque magis quod ipsos
latuit quid auri sub eo Cæsaris
consilio latuit, quamvis deformi
scoriâ illius indulgentiæ contec-
tum. Quod consilium fuisset
patribus patefactum nisi consue-

visset Pontifex literas peculiare
haud cæteris communicandas
perscribere.'—Ibid.

‡ 'Quod erat peculiare sub-
sellium supra cunctos patres
quasi ex adverso Legatorum cui
adjectum erat scabellum duorum
hominum capax.'—Ibid.

CH. 24. If prudence was still important, the presence of some one in authority who could keep his judgment cool was not unnecessary. The zealous fathers desired at once to draw the sword and pass a censure on the Germans before Charles was ready for the struggle for which he was obliged in haste

A.D. 1546.
January.

The Bishop
of Toledo
keeps the
council in
play

Till the
Emperor is
prepared
for the
struggle
with
Germany.

to prepare himself. The Bishop of Toledo interposed. In spite of a querulous murmur, he contrived for the time to turn the heat of discussion into less dangerous channels.* Original sin was brought forward, and next a fertile discussion on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.† And when on this point the fiery conflict had burnt out, the Bishop of Fiesoli threw in the inexhaustible and yet more agitating question, What was the Pope's authority, and what was a bishop's authority? How far could one bishop over-rule another bishop in his own diocese? Here the strife of tongues, once kindled, raged without ceasing till Midsummer, 1546, when the Emperor was ready to take the field; and then at last the council were allowed to approach subjects which would bring them in collision with the Reformers. An article was brought forward on the heresy of justification by faith; a league was concluded between Charles and Paul; and a holy war was proclaimed.

* 'Inter Patres querulus sussurus increbuit quasi Legati arbitrato suo semel in congregationibus statuta mutarent.'—PALLAVICINO.

† 'Hâc ratione voto Cæsaris

consulebat initâ siquidem a Patribus quæstione de articulo intra duas Catholicorum scholas easque doctrinâ pollentes strenue agitato qui in præservidum diuturnumque certamen abiturus erat.'—Ibid.

This is not a place to describe the campaign CH. 24.
 which closed at Muhlberg in the following spring, A. D. 1546.
 so disastrously for the Lutherans. The Pope A holy
 undertook to provide an Italian contingent, and alliance is
 for a supply of funds he allowed the Emperor to formed
 sequesterate half the revenue of the Church of between the
 Spain, and to sell church lands to the value of a Pope and
 half-million crowns. But the Emperor's mis- the
 givings had not deceived him as to the strength Emperor.
 of the enemy. The Elector of Saxe and the
 Landgrave of Hesse took the field at the head of The Elector
 an army far superior to the Papal Imperial troops of Saxe and
 in number, in equipment, in commissariat. the Land-
 Their grave take
 artillery doubled the Emperor's; the field.
 people
 were on their side; they possessed every ad-
 vantage, except in the one point of a divided
 command and inferiority of military skill.*

The result of the conflict seemed at one time The pre-
 so uncertain, that the fathers at the council were lates and
 thrown into the utmost agitation. Some ferocious the council
 Protestant leader might stoop down upon them are agi-
 out of the mountains, lying out as they were tated.
 exposed upon the frontier; they desired to flutter
 off to some safer residence;† and so much dis-
 turbed were they, that in the heat of their alarm
 they forgot the plainest proprieties of decorum.
 In an excited session one venerable prelate
 clutched another by the beard, and plucked out

* A series of exceedingly valuable letters from the English ambassadors who followed the Imperial camp in the summer and autumn of 1546, are printed in the eleventh volume of the *State Papers* of Henry VIII.
 † 'Tridenti tamen adeo trepidatum fuerat ut episcopi fugere meditarentur.'—PALLAVICINO.

CH. 24. his hoary hair in handfuls;* and they would have
 A.D. 1546. broken up and dispersed on the spot, had not the
 Emperor sent a message, that if they were not
 quiet, he would have some of them flung into the
 Adige.

The Smal-
 caldic
 League is
 dissolved.
 Duke
 Maurice
 joins the
 Emperor.

Finding himself meanwhile too weak to risk a battle, Charles had recourse to intrigue. The Protestant leaders used their strength unskillfully, and the summer had passed without an action. With the winter, Duke Maurice of Saxe, the Landgrave's son-in-law, and if the family of John Frederick failed, the heir of the electorate, deserted his party, and came over to Charles, bringing with him the Duke of Wirtemberg and half the military power of the reforming States. The religious aspect of the war was thus exchanged for a political one. The reforming princes, in joining the Emperor, imagined that they were tying his hands, and it is true that the connexion had its embarrassments for him. But the League of Smalcalde was broken up. The Landgrave and the Elector were placed under the ban of the Empire, and Saxony was bestowed on

The war
 becomes
 political,
 and the
 Pope leaves
 the al-
 liance.

* 'The Bishop of Cava having expressed an opinion rather vehemently, the Bishop of Chæronea whispered to his neighbour that such folly and impudence were inexcusable. The first Bishop asked what he was saying. 'I said, my Lord,' replied the Bishop of Chæronea, 'that your folly and impudence were without excuse.' Then the other, as the wont is among men, overcame with anger, blazed out into revenge;

laying his hand on the beard of his brother prelate, he did tear away many of the hairs thereof, and straightway went his way. As the assembly gathered about him, the Bishop of Chæronea did show no other sign of displeasure save that in a loud voice he repeated his words again; the fathers at the unseemly spectacle were disturbed incredibly.'—PALLAVICINO.

Maurice as a reward of his treachery. Paul III., CH. 24.
indignant at the return of a carnal policy, with-
drew his contingent, discontinued his supplies of A.D. 1547.
money, and cancelling his sanction for the appro- March.
priation of the Spanish benefices, began to look in
despair towards France; France in turn began to
meditate supporting the Elector, in order to pre-
vent Charles from conquering Germany; and it
was at this crisis, as all things appeared to be re-
lapsing into confusion, that Henry VIII. died—
'The most miserable of princes,' says Pallavicino;
'cursed in the extinction of his race, as if God would
punish those distracted marriages, from which, in
spite of fortune, he laboured to beget sons to suc-
ceed him; cursed in his country, which ever since
has been an Africa, fertile only in monsters.'*

In the autumn, while the league was yet un-
broken between the Pope and the Emperor, Henry
had offered to join the Protestants. The Elector,
confident in his own strength and over hopeful of
France, had evaded or declined the conditions on
which the alliance was proposed to him, and
the last directions of the king to his executors
were unfavourable to further interference. The
struggle was altering its character; Charles was
again in connexion with a section of the Lu-
therans, and Edward was especially recommended
to the Imperial protection.

But if Henry had no longer a desire that Eng- On the
land should interfere on the Continent, the Pope death of
Henry the

* 'Britannia postmodo tanquam in Africam conversa est mon-
strorum omnium feracem.'—PALLAVICINO.

Pope ad-
vises the
Emperor to
invade
England.

CH. 24. snatched at the opportunity of the departure of his dreaded enemy to revenge himself on England.

A.D. 1547.
March.

Laying aside his immediate grounds of complaint against Charles, he wrote to urge upon him the duty of at once asserting by arms the right of the Princess Mary to the crown. Edward having been born in schism, was not to be recognised as legitimate; the daughter of Catherine was the only child of Henry whose rights could be admitted by Catholics.

The
Emperor
refuses.

Had there been a corresponding movement in England, had Surrey been alive or his father at liberty, it is likely that Paul would not have entreated in vain; the war might have been suspended in Germany, and the invasion so long threatened have become a fact. But, after a consultation at Brussels, it was decided that the Emperor should wait to see what the conduct of the new government would be. To interfere without the support of a party in the country would be dangerous, and might cost Mary her life.*

* 'Il luy sembloit,' wrote the Bishop of Arras to Chancellor Granvelle (he was speaking of the Regent of the Netherlands), 'que l'on deut attendre jusques la conduite de la nouveaulx gouvernement se vit, et par icelle sur quoy l'on se debvroit fonder, et selon ce, ce que l'on y debvroit faire: et depuis que le Roy est mort, et le Duc de Norfolk (it was not known that Norfolk's life had been spared) et son filz le Conte de Surrey executiez, le jeune Roy qu'est ja couronné envoyoit vers l'Empereur pour

l'avertir du trespas du feu Roy et couronnement du nouveaulx, ung gentilhomme de la chambre dudit nouveaulx Roy, et il a semblé que les raisons allegués par Chappuys militent encores.'

Her Majesty, he continued, is afraid of doing anything which might compromise Mary: 'Quia ubi opus est, comme vous dictes ibi non verentur;—those English will stick at nothing—and things being as they were, the Emperor would recognise Edward as king. Not to irritate the Pope, however, no funeral ser-

A smart reply was despatched, therefore, to the Pope's request, that the time was unsuited for the move which he proposed, and that the Holy See must be more constant in its alliances, if it looked for help in services of danger. The refusal filled the cup of the papal displeasure; the panic revived at Trent with augmented force, as the frightened ecclesiastics saw themselves with open enemies and ambiguous friends in so dangerous a position; and at last, in an ecstasy of terror, they rose with scream and cry into the air, like Homer's birds from the banks of the Cayster, and alighted only within the safe precincts of Bologna. The

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
March.

The prelates break up from Trent, and retreat to Bologna.

vice should be said for Henry; 'S'il ne vous semble aultre chose l'on se resout de ne faire exéques pour le Roy d'Angleterre, tant pour non irriter sa Saintité que pour non se pouvoir faire avec bonne conscience: et que ceulx qui s'en mesleroyent seroient irreguliers etant nominativement excommuniés, et a l'instance mesme comme il me semble de sa Majesté.'—Arras to Granvelle, Feb. 12, 1546—7: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iii. p. 245, &c.

The allusion to the death of Surrey as affecting the resolution of the Imperial government confirms and explains a remarkable passage in *Peregrine*, a tract written in the spring of this year 1547 by an Englishman named William Thomas.

'A poor soldier,' says that writer, 'that came even now from the Emperor's camp, told me in Florence, not four days gone, that

he had heard a whispering among the soldiers, how that the said Earl of Surrey, at his being with the Emperor before Landrecy, was entered into intelligence with divers great captains, and had gotten promises of aid towards the furniture of his intent. Yea, said he, and farther, he should have been the Emperor's man from the selfsame purpose. I will not say, quoth he, that this is true; but when the private soldiers are grown so commonly to talk of these things, it is to be presumed that there should be something of importance, for without some fire there was never smoke.

'It is possible enough, said a gentleman present, for I myself, who have been in the Emperor's camp, have heard much reasoning of the matter. It was doubted whether this young prince was legitimate or no.'—*Peregrine*, MS. Harleian, 355.

24 *Opinions of Paget on the State of Europe.*

CH. 24. Emperor was furious; the œcumenical council of Christendom was thus converted into a private Pope's council, to which it was idle to hope that the Germans would submit. He sent imperative orders to the Spanish bishops to remain at their posts; but over the rest his anger was powerless; they were gone, and refused to return.

A.D. 1547.
March.

So long as this state of affairs continued, England had nothing to fear from Charles. It seemed, however, not impossible that England might be forced itself to take the initiative in a quarrel. The personal dislike of the Elector of Saxe for Henry VIII. had been the real ground for the rejection of the alliance when it was offered. No sooner was the king gone than John Frederick became as eager as he had been before

The Elector
of Saxe
applies to
England
for as-
sistance.

unwilling. He sent commissioners to England to beg for assistance, and a state paper of Sir William Paget's remains to show that the acutest of English statesmen hesitated as to the course which it would be prudent to pursue.

The French, Paget said, were sore at the loss of Boulogne, which they were bent on recovering.

The Eng-
lish council
deliberate.

The Pope desired to recover the allegiance of England; and the Emperor, in spite of appearances, would help him as soon as he could, 'partly moved by a corrupt conscience, partly by ambition to reign alone, besides old grudges and displeasures.' The first necessity, therefore, was quiet, and the re-establishment of the finances at home; the second, effective alliances abroad. At home all promised to go well; as a foreign ally, the safest would be either Francis or Charles; Francis, if

he would wait the eight years for Boulogne; Charles, if he would detach himself conclusively from the Holy See.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
March.

‘But we see either of them,’ he continued, ‘so affected in his own opinion, and by daily experience we know so little faith to be given to either of their promises when the breach of the same may serve to their purpose, as to have cause to be at point to despair to find friendship in either of them longer than they may not choose.’

Neither the French nor the Imperial alliance could be depended on,

There remained the present overture from the Elector, which it might be equally dangerous to accept or to refuse. To accept would in all likelihood unite the Catholic powers in a league against England, and war would follow with all its risk and cost. To refuse was either to leave the Protestants to be crushed, or to alienate them probably for ever—to throw them into the arms of France; while France, thus strengthened, might drive the English from Calais as well as from Boulogne.

And to refuse the Elector, or to assent, appeared equally dangerous.

On the side of France he concluded that the danger was most immediate. The problem, therefore, was to keep on terms if possible, both with the Emperor and with the Protestants—if possible to reconcile them; at any rate, to give a gentle answer to the Elector’s invitation.*

The position was a difficult one. The privy council, not to send back John Frederick’s emissaries with words only, gave with them a present of 50,000 crowns; but they added a stipulation that the libe-

They give money and fair words.

* Judgment of Sir W. Paget, printed by STYVE: *Memorials*, vol. iii.

CH. 24. rality should be kept a secret.* More directly
 A.D. 1547. important and more menacing were, as Paget
 March. said, the relations of the country with France.

Francis himself had had enough of wars. The
 exequies of Henry VIII., which had been neg-
 lected at Brussels, were celebrated in Notre Dame,
 in defiance of the papal authorities; and so long
 as Francis lived, peace was in no seeming danger.

Francis I.
 dies,

VIII

But on the 22nd of March Francis followed
 Henry to the grave. The Dauphin had been the
 leader of the party most opposed to England,
 and the consequences of the change were imme-
 diately felt. The frontier line of the tract of
 land surrendered with Boulogne had been left
 undetermined at the peace. Commissioners on
 both sides had been employed upon the survey,
 and had almost agreed upon a settlement, when
 the new king made difficulties, refused to ratify
 their arrangement, and while he professed to
 have no sinister intentions, persisted in keeping
 open an uncertainty which at any time might be
 the occasion of a quarrel. The Protector replied

And a
 breach with
 France
 becomes
 imminent.

The Pro-
 tector
 fortifies
 Boulogne.

by a direct violation of the treaty. In the eight
 years during which Boulogne was to be in the
 hands of the English, they were to build no fresh
 fortifications there. An expensive and elaborate
 embankment was run out towards the sea;
 avowedly for the protection of the harbour, but
 in fact to carry cannon and command the ap-
 proaches.†

* Records of the Privy Coun-
 cil, Edward VI. *MS.*

† Lord Grey, Sir T. and Sir H. Palmer were standing one
 day, in the middle of April,
 watching the workmen, when

A yet more critical occasion of quarrel was the condition of Scotland. The treaty of 1543, by which the Scotch Assembly had promised their young queen to Edward, was still legally uncancelled. The influence of France had interrupted the fulfilment of it, and Cardinal Beton and the Church party had dragged the country into war instead of marriage; but at the close

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
April.

France again likely to make objection to the marriage of Edward with Mary Stuart,

two French officers approached, and fell into conversation with them. 'Your fort advances apace,' said they. 'No fort,' said we [Lord Grey is reporting], but a jetty to amend the haven, to save both your ships and ours.' 'Yea,' said they, 'but you intend to place ordnance upon it.' 'To what end?' quoth we; 'whereunto should we shoot?' 'Well,' said they, 'seeing it is no fort, you may do what you will; but if it was a fortress, we neither might nor would in any case endure it. But what news,' said they, 'we pray you have you of the Protestants?' 'None other,' quoth we, 'but that we hear they have great hopes in your aid, and that they begin to gather men.' 'Will you go walk with us,' said they, 'and we will tell you more. The Protestants say they shall have ere it be long, fifty thousand men in the field.' 'God send them well to do,' said we. 'And we also,' said they, 'desire no less, for there is no faith in that Emperor. The king that now is [Henry II.] saw enough by his father's time; and to be plain with you,' said they, 'intendeth to be revenged on him. Marry,

not this year peradventure; but being once sure of you, yea, that you will but sit still, the next year at the farthest he will make him war. The Emperor,' they said, 'did seek to marry the daughter of England, to the intent he might have the better entry into our realm, and that now it appeareth well that the King of England, being of young years, had no such friend as the king his master; for the Emperor's drift is none other,' saith he, 'but seeing your prince young, the realm governed by divers heads, and tickle to stir upon small occasions, to take advantage of the time, with the credit of the daughter of the realm, and to be revenged for your opinions, whereof it behoveth you to have special regard, and wish good success to the Protestants; for if the Emperor have the overhand of them, he will think himself able to ask every man how he believeth, wherein it toucheth you to take heed more than we.' —Grey to the Council, from Boulogne, April 18: *Calais MSS. State Paper Office*, Edward VI.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
April.

of the struggle, Henry VIII. had insisted successfully that the Scotch should reaccept their engagements; and there was still a party in Scotland sufficiently wise and far-sighted to prefer the alliance of England to that of France. It was not to be doubted, however, that the compliance of the French government had been extorted rather than given, and unless the Courts of London and Paris could arrive at some amicable understanding, by intrigue or force there would soon be fresh interference. But, on the other hand, 'the Italian question' was as far from settlement as ever. The death of the Duke of Orleans had broken up the arrangement by which it was to have been set at rest, and that quarrel would sooner or later break into flame again. The wisdom after the event which determines what ought to have been done in this or that embarrassment, is usually good for little; but it seems certainly that England having Boulogne and the Boulloonnaise in its hands, and being still the creditor of the French government for a heavy sum of money, political skill might have turned such advantages to some account, and by the immediate surrender of territory, which must, at all events, have soon been parted with, might have induced Henry to leave Scotland to itself. It is possible that the country would not have listened to prudence in a point which touched its pride; it is possible that, if such an overture had been made, it would not have been accepted. It can only be said with safety, that when Somerset took possession of the Protectorate, the state of things

Which, perhaps, the Protector might have neutralized.

was generally dangerous ; that, if he left his relations with the European powers to accident, and trusted merely to force to accomplish the Scottish marriage, he would find himself before long at war certainly with France, and possibly with France, Scotland, and the Empire united; and it may be affirmed with equal certainty that with these outstanding difficulties, the opportunity was not the best for a religious revolution at home.

CH. 24.
A.D. 1546.
August.

In Scotland itself the position of things was as follows :—

The Castle of St. Andrews continued to be held by the party who had put to death Cardinal Beton. The parliament at Edinburgh divided among themselves, and paralysed by the loss of the one man of pre-eminent ability that they possessed, could neither resolutely condemn his murder nor resolutely approve it. The deed was done in May, 1546. It was not till the last of July that the perpetrators were called on formally to surrender the castle. When they refused, 300*l.* a month was voted to enable the Regent to besiege it, and Leslie, Kircaldy, and the other conspirators were attainted. But the question, after all, was considered to touch the clergy more than the nation. For the first two months the money was to be found by the ‘kirkmen.’*

The conspirators against Beton continue to hold St. Andrews.

In August the Earl of Arran appeared under the walls, and attempted feebly to take possession. But the sea was open; a covered way was

* *Acts of the Scotch Parliament, 1546.*

CH. 24. constructed from the castle to the water's edge, by which the English cruisers threw in supplies; and the desultory and heartless efforts of the Regent were without result. In January the siege was raised, and an agreement was made that Norman Leslie and his companions should keep the fortress till absolution for the murder could be obtained from Rome; that they should suffer no penalty in life or lands; and that Arran's eldest son, who was a prisoner in the castle, should remain a hostage till the composition was concluded.

A.D. 1546.
August.
The castle
is besieged
ineffect-
ually by
the Regent.

So palpable an evidence of weakness in the anti-English faction showed how great was the discouragement into which the loss of Beton had thrown them; and the honour of the English Government required the maintenance at all costs of the men who had made so bold a venture in their interests. The common sense of the Scottish laity, the appetite of the lords for the Church lands, and the growing spirit of the Reformers, had only, it seemed, to be left to themselves, and the counter influence of France and the papacy would die a natural death. Balnavis, one of the St. Andrews party, was in London on a commission from Leslie at the time of the king's decease. Henry had directed that the leaders should be pensioned, and that a sum be set apart to maintain a garrison in the castle. The privy council accepted the obligation and discharged it.* It

A.D. 1547.
January.
Henry
Balnavis
comes to
London to
ask for
assistance,
which the
council
grants.

* 'The late king having re- | to divers noblemen and others
solved, for various considerations, | which keep and defend the
not only to give certain pensions | Castle of St. Andrews for his

would have been well, both for England and for Scotland also, if in this direction they had continued their watchfulness, and left the natural tendencies of interest, right, and good sense, to do their work.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
February.

But time was too slow an agent for the eager ambition of Somerset, and the fate of a single castle and a handful of men insignificant in the schemes which he was contemplating. Henry VIII. in the height of his power had refused to call in question the feudal independence of Scotland. He had rights, he had said, which he might have advanced, had he desired; but those rights he was contented to waive. The Duke of Somerset resolved to distinguish his Protectorate by reviving the pretensions and renewing the policy of Edward I., by putting forward the formal claim of England to the dominions of the entire island. To Balnavis he does not

Majesty's service and for the advancement of the marriage, but also at his own cost and charge to entertain a hundred and twenty men for the more sure defence of the said castle against the King's Majesty's enemies in Scotland; in consequence the privy council resolved 'that 1189*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* should be paid to Sir Henry Balnavis for the affairs of Scotland, that is to say, for the wages of eighty men within the Castle of St. Andrews at 6*d.* by the day for six months, the sum of 336*l.* sterling. For the wages of forty horse at 8*d.* the day, appointed to keep abroad for the more surety of the said

castle, for six months, 224*l.* For the amity of the Master of Rothes, for one half year ending at Michaelmas last past, 125*l.* For the like to the Laird of Grange, 100*l.* For the like to David Moneyppenny, 50*l.* For the like to Mr. Henry Balnavis, of Halhill, 62*l.* 10*s.* For the like to John Leslie, of Parkhill, 62*l.* 10*s.* James Leslie, of Abdour, 50*l.* W. Kircaldy, son to the Laird of Grange, 50*l.*, which sums make, on the whole, 1060*l.*; and on the exchange 1189*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*—*Privy Council Records*, Feb. 6, *M.S.* Edward VI.

CH. 24. seem to have hinted his intentions. Indentures were drawn between the party in the castle and the English government, in which Leslie and his friends promised to support the Protector in the enforcement of the execution of the marriage treaty;* but in none of these was the free sovereignty of Scotland called in question; it was rather admitted and confessed on the grounds which the Scots alleged for their conduct. 'If the present chance was lost,' they said, 'for the determination of a perpetual peace, amity and love between the kingdoms, the semblable was never likely to ensue hereafter, to the displeasure of Almighty God, and to the eternal condemnation of the workers of the same in hatred, rancour, malice, and vengeance, the one against the other.'

A.D. 1547.
February.
The Protector will assert a feudal supremacy over Scotland,

Which the French government declares that they will not permit.

But, although the Scots were comprehended in the treaty with France, the Protector permitted the Borders to be wasted, and fire and sword carried to their homesteads, as if they were rebels; and he communicated his more ambitious views to the French ministers, requiring them formally to abstain from interference. The reply was prompt and stern. They answered, that 'they had no concern with pretensions revived after two centuries of abeyance.' 'Their king, being such a great prince, might not suffer the old friends of France to be oppressed and alienated from him;' 'nor would he suffer it to be written in books and chroniques that the Scots, who had ever been faithful friends

* RYMER, vol. vi. part 3, pp. 150-155.

to France, and whom his ancestors had ever defended, should in his reign be lost, and of friends made enemies.*

CH. 24.

A. D. 1547.
March.

As if this matter did not threaten sufficient complications, the Protector found leisure simultaneously to proceed with religious reforms. The ultra-Protestants, whom Henry had held sternly in hand, at once upon his death began to take the bit between their teeth. On the 10th of February the wardens and curates of St. Martin's in London, 'of their own authority, pulled down the images of the saints in the church.' The paintings on the walls were whitewashed, and the royal arms, garnished with texts, were set in the place of the crucifix on the roodloft. Being called before the council to answer for themselves, the parish officers protested that they had acted with the purest horror of idolatry; but the council, as yet unpurged of its Catholic elements, would not accept the excuse; the overzealous curates were committed to the Tower, and the churchwardens were bound in recognizances to 'erect a new crucifix, within two days, in its usual place.'† But as soon as the Protector, and those who went along with him, had shaken off inconvenient restraints, the rising spirit was encouraged to show itself. The sermons at Paul's Cross breathed of revolution. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, whose indiscretion had already assisted to ruin Crom-

The Protector at the same time will reform religion.

The wardens and curates of St. Martin's purge their church.

* Wotton to the Council: *MS. France*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

† *Privy Council Records*, Feb. 10, 1547, Edward VI. *MS.*

CH. 24. well, preached on the most inflammable points of controversy.* Ridley, Principal of Pembroke Hall at Cambridge, then first emerging into prominence, denounced the use of holy water and the presence of images in churches, loudly and violently. When Lent opened, a Doctor Glazier affirmed that fasting had no divine sanction, that it was 'a politic ordinance of men,' and might therefore be broken by men at their pleasure:† and in a manuscript contemporary diary by some unknown writer, I find the significant entry, that 'this year the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat openly in Lent, in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country.'‡

A.D. 1547.
March.
Barlow and
Ridley
preach at
Paul's
Cross.

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
eats meat
in Lent.

Gardiner
offers
advice,

The Bishop of Winchester who, when in a minority, understood the merits of moderation, ventured, though excluded from the council, to advise some caution. He entreated Somerset to forget his elevation for a moment, and listen to him as a friend. He implored him not 'to trouble the realm with novelties' in religion, so long as the king was a child. The political posi-

* I have not found a copy of the sermon, but the character of it may be gathered from a protest addressed by the Bishop of Winchester to the Protector: 'You need fear nothing,' wrote Gardiner, 'if quiet may be maintained at home, and at home, if the beginning may be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St. David's may, like a cham-

pion with a sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of license is opened.'—Gardiner to the Protector, Feb. 28: FOXE, vol. vi.

† Stow.

‡ To four-fifths of the English world as agitating as if among ourselves the Opera House was to be opened on a Sunday and the Bishop of London to appear in a private box.

tion of things was embarrassing enough to task CH. 24.
 all his energies; and the country was full of A. D. 1547.
 speculations, not merely on points of difference May.
 between Catholics and Protestants, but on the
 divinity of Christ himself. The late king had
 introduced reforms, but cautious and moderate
 reforms, which had given quiet and satisfaction;
 and for himself he 'would rather be wrong with
 Plato than right with others.' It was said that
 Henry VIII. 'had but one eye,' and 'saw not
 God's truth perfectly:' 'he had rather go to
 heaven with one eye after him, than travel for
 another eye with danger to lose both.'

And holds
up the
example of
the late
king.

The remonstrance was not recommended by
 the maker of it, but it was none the less wise in
 itself. To Ridley also Gardiner wrote in a similar
 strain. He might say what he pleased of the
 Papacy of Rome and Roman pardons, but the
 objects against which he was now declaiming were
 in use in the earliest ages of the Church; and he
 would be using his talents better if he had shown He recom-
mends mo-
deration.
 how things like holy water and images might
 continue to be used without offence, than by
 railing at them with 'light rash eloquence,'
 which, after all, was easy.*

But it was a time, as such times will come,
 and perhaps ought to come, when passion had

* He touched Ridley's dread of the supposed idolatry of images with some humour. After all, he said, there was not much real superstition connected with them. Men knelt before the silver crucifix, but the church-warden who took it home from church was not afraid, like a reasonable man, to drink a pot of ale while the precious thing was under his gown.—Gardiner to Ridley: *Foxe*, vol. vi.

CH. 24. more weight with men than understanding.

A.D. 1547.
May.

But his
advice is
not at-
tended to.

The spirit of iconoclasm spread fast. The inhabitants of Portsmouth cleared their churches. The chapter of Canterbury, in need of money to repair the cathedral, sent a crucifix and a pix to the Mint. The crucifix was melted into coin, the pix was arrested by order of council for a time only, before it followed the same route. Portsmouth was in the diocese of Winchester, and the bishop thought at first of sending preachers there to check the people; but he would not, he said, make preaching an occasion of further folly. He appealed again to the Protector; and the Princess Mary, who, as heir-presumptive, was entitled to speak authoritatively, united with him to entreat, on grounds as well of legality as of prudence, that the settlement left by Henry should be for the present undisturbed. 'I see my late sovereign slandered,' said Gardiner, 'religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted. I dare not desire your Grace to look earnestly to it, but I should seem to note in you that which becometh me not.'

Somerset, however, had chosen his course, and an inability to comprehend objections which he did not himself perceive, was part of his nature. He made a point against Gardiner with replying that it was not worse to destroy an image than to burn a Bible; every day people were doing the latter, pretending to dislike the translation, and he had made no objection. 'Let a worthless, worm-eaten image be so disposed, and men exclaimed

as if a saint were cast into the fire.* Mary's complaints, the Protector supposed, had originated with some naughty, malicious persons, who had suggested them to her; and as to the late king's intentions, he was fulfilling them better in carrying out the Reformation, than she was fulfilling them by resisting it.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.

May.

A general order is given for the purification of the churches.

At last he gave the popular movement the formal sanction of the government. Injunctions were issued for the general purification of the churches. From wall and window every picture, every image commemorative of saint, or prophet, or apostle, was to be extirpated and put away, 'so that there should remain no memory of the same.'† Painted glass survives to show that the order was imperfectly obeyed; but, in general, spoliation became the law of the land—the statues crashed from their niches, rood and roodloft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles; 'the churches were new whitelimed, with the Commandments written on the walls,' where the quaint frescoes had told the story of the gospel to the eyes of generation after generation.‡ The superstition which had paid an undue reverence to the symbols of holy things, was avenged by the superstition of as blind a hatred.§

Images are put away, windows broken, and walls white-washed.

* Protector to Gardiner: FOXE, vol. vi.

† Injunction on Images: printed in JENKYN'S *Cranmer*, vol. iii.

‡ *Grey Friars' Chronicle*.

§ The Grey Friars' chroni-

cler mentions, with evident satisfaction, that when the rood at St. Paul's, 'with Mary and John,' was taken down, 'two of the men that laboured at it were slain, and divers hurt.' Stow also tells a story in connexion

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.

May.

A general
visitation is
instituted.A *Book of
Homilies* is
issued,
with in-
junctions
for the
clergy.

The passiveness with which the people appeared to submit encouraged the government to go further. On the 4th of May a royal visitation, after the pattern set by Cromwell, was announced as to take effect throughout England. The country was divided into six circuits; a *Book of Homilies* as a guide to doctrine, a body of instructions for the ordinaries, and of injunctions for the clergy, were drawn up simultaneously under the direction of Cranmer, and the bishops were suspended from their functions until their duties should recommence under a new system.

The be-
haviour of
the country
clergy to be
inquired
into.

The crown visitors were to inquire how far the bishops had obeyed the orders of the late king; whether the English Liturgy had been in due use; whether the Pope's authority had been preached against; whether the old scandals of the bishops' courts continued, 'the commuting of penance for money,' and 'the excommunication for lucre;' whether 'excessive sums were taken' for 'religious services,' for the 'concealment of vice,' or 'for induction into benefices;' whether the long-standing grievance was yet abandoned of summoning persons *ex officio* suspected of heresy, and putting them to the shame of purgation. All this was well. Inveterate evils could be extirpated only with watchfulness and habitual investigation.

with these scenes which must not be forgotten:—

'Two priests were arraigned and condemned in the Guildhall for keeping of certain relics, amongst the which was a left

arm and shoulder of a monk of the Charterhouse, on the which arm was written, it was the arm of such a monk which suffered martyrdom under King Henry VIII.'

Further, there might be instances remaining of immorality among the clergy requiring to be looked into. Fresh care was to be taken that copies of the Bible were accessible in the parish churches, and translations of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament* were provided as a commentary. There was no objection either to touching, if the hand was delicate, the local practices—half-superstitious, half-imaginative—in use among the people. Customs which arise out of feeling become mischievous when made a law to the understanding, and there was reason in the general warning which the visitors were to enforce, 'that, while laudable ceremonies might decently be observed, they might be abused to the peril of the soul'—as, for instance (and the list throws an interesting light on ancient English usages), 'in casting holy water upon the beds, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about holy bread, or St. John's Gospel, or keeping of private holydays, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do, or ringing of holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or put away dreams and fantasies.'*

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
May.

Ancient
customs are
to be dis-
continued.

The spirit of the innovations, however, was destructive merely, and customs which were interwoven in the details of common life could

* The various instructions for the visitation of 1547 are printed in BURNET's *Collectanea*, FULLER's *Church History*, STRYPE's *Memorials of the Reformation*, and JENKYN'S *Cranmer*.

CH. 24. not rudely be torn away with impunity. To
 A.D. 1547. most men habit is the moral costume which saves
 May. them from barbarism; and although there are
 costumes which may be worse than nakedness, it
 is one thing to do what is right—it is another
 to do it rightly and at the right opportunity.

*The Book of
 Homilies
 becomes an
 occasion of
 discord.*

The Book of Homilies was a further element of
 discord. It was a perilous risk to throw abroad
 upon the world, as authoritative, a body of
 doctrine sanctioned neither by Convocation nor
 by Parliament. The Protector would have done
 better if he had waited till the political horizon
 was less clouded before he threw fresh fuel on the
 doctrinal controversies; and two calamities in
 the first half-year of his government, one of
 which it was his immediate duty to have at-
 tempted to avert, had not improved the prospects
 of the wellwishers of the Reformation.

April 21.

*The Em-
 peror wins
 the battle
 of Muhl-
 berg, and
 takes John
 Frederick
 prisoner.*

On the evening of the 21st of April Charles V.,
 with his Spanish infantry, was on the banks of the
 Elbe at Muhlberg. The Elector, who had driven
 Maurice out of Saxony in March, was across the
 river falling leisurely back upon Wittenberg,
 while the rafts and barges which had formed the
 floating bridge were drifting in flames down the
 stream, and the water was between himself and
 the enemy. John Frederick pitched his camp at
 a few miles distant, with no thought of danger.
 In the darkness the Castilians swam after the
 blazing boats, quenched the fire, and secured
 them, and before dawn there was again a bridge
 passable for artillery. The Emperor, on his bay
 horse, glittering in gilded armour, rode breast-

high through the river, and caught the Protest- CH. 24.
ants in their sleep. By the evening they were A.D. 1547.
a rout of scattered fugitives, and the Elector was May.
a prisoner.

If Somerset thought the English but lightly concerned in the catastrophe, there were those whom he ought to have feared who thought of it far differently. The fathers at Bologna offered up their thanksgivings. The Pope forgave the carnal policy which he had condemned in his joy at its success, and sending a legate with his congratulations, suggested again that now was the time for the 'expedition into Britain.'* The Pope again urges the invasion of England.

No effort, however, which the English government could have made would have averted the defeat of the Lutherans. The other misfortune was as easy to have been prevented as its consequences were ruinous. On the 21st of June, while the Protector was reforming the Church, and the English fleets were loitering in harbour, twenty-one French galleys, escorting transports loaded with French troops and French artillery, sailed up the Channel, and appeared under the walls of St. Andrews. By the last agreement with the Regent the garrison were to remain in possession until absolution could be obtained for them from Rome. It was brought in language enigmatic as the answers from the Delphic tripod; *Remittimus irremissibile*—we pardon the act which admits of no pardon. With this they were required to be contented, and when they refused, the siege was commenced. June.
The French government sends a force into Scotland.

* PALLAVICINO.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
July.The castle
of St. An-
drews is
taken.The Pro-
tector, by
neglecting
to send
help, alien-
ates the
Scotch Pro-
testants.

Among the fugitive Protestants who had taken refuge there were two preachers—Rough, who was afterwards burnt by Bonner, and John Knox, who in that wild scene and wild company commenced his ministry. The garrison looked for help from England. Knox, with a shrewd insight which never failed him, told them that they should not see it. They talked of their walls. Their walls, he said, would be ‘as egg-shells’ against French cannon. The galleys fired on the castle from the sea; the batteries from the trenches and from the tower of the abbey. Heat and confinement brought the plague; and on the last of July, after six weeks’ resistance, the defenders surrendered, under promise only of life, to the French commander. They were carried prisoners on board the galleys, while the castle itself, as the scene of a legate’s murder, was rased to the ground.

Without an effort to save them, the Scots, who had delivered England from the most dangerous and most successful of her enemies, were permitted to be overcome, not by a sudden attack, but by a long siege deliberately commenced and deliberately maintained; not at a place far inland and difficult of access, but on the sea, where the English affected a superiority, and at least could have forced a battle.

The attack, if not provoked, had been hastened by the injudicious pretensions which Somerset had advanced; and by his neglect he taught the Scottish Protestants that they could have no reliance upon him. The great families who

had been gained over to the English interest, CH. 24.
continued a pretended good feeling, but were alien-
ated at heart; and no one any more would risk
the odium of espousing so thankless a cause. A.D. 1547.
July.

The hope of accomplishing the marriage otherwise than by force had now to be deliberately abandoned. At this conclusion the Protector had already arrived, and it was on this account that he had abandoned St. Andrews to its fate. Careless of small things, and weary of the tedious labour of gaining over Scotland by supporting an English faction, he had resolved upon a gigantic invasion, which once and for ever should terminate the difficulty. In deference to the French menaces, he disavowed, indeed, his claims to the Scottish crown; and as the Scots, were comprehended in the treaty of peace, an excuse was necessary for attacking them. But a pretext was found easily in the perpetual skirmishes which distracted the Borders—the English laying the fault upon the Scots, the Scots complaining that, without provocation, their homesteads were burnt over their heads. He determines to invade Scotland, but disavows his claims on the Scotch crown.

War with France might or might not follow. The Protector was confident and indifferent. The Bishop of Winchester cautioned him in private.* The council, it is likely, disclaimed a

* 'If I was sworn to say what I think of the world, I would for a time let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master when he cometh of age, and in the mean time prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order that it hath need of.'—Gardiner to the Protector: *FOXE*, vol. vi. p. 25.

CH. 24. share of the responsibility;* but he had chosen his course, and would follow it. The first intention was to follow the precedent of 1544, and send an army by sea to Leith. But a comparative estimate of expenses showed but a small balance in favour of water transport, while the havoc which would be inflicted by the march of a large force would more than compensate for the loss. It was determined to advance from the Border to Edinburgh along the coast, a fleet with the baggage and the commissariat reserve accompanying the march. There was no thought of permanent occupation. The Protector's aim was to strike a blow with all his might, which should bring the country stunned upon its knees; he was going to enter Scotland at the head of 18,000 men, go as far as he could, and inflict as much injury as he could in three weeks or a month, and then return. The necessary stores were collected in August at Berwick.† The

A. D. 1547.
August.
An army is
to advance
from the
Tweed to
Edinburgh,

And waste
the
country.

* As much as this seems to be implied in a subsequent letter of Paget's, remonstrating with the Protector for refusing generally to listen to advice: 'Alas, sir, take pity of the king, and of the conservation and state of the realm. Put no more so many irons in the fire at once as you have had within this twelvemonth—war with Scotland, with France, though it be not so termed, commissions out for that matter, new laws for this, proclamations for another. When the whole council shall join in a matter, and your Grace travel to

outrason them in it, and wrest them by reason of your authority to bow to it, or first show your own opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs; alas, sir, how shall this gear do well?'—Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

† The estimate of the different things provided for the army is curiously illustrative of the nature of an English campaign in the sixteenth century.

'An estimate for victuals for twenty-eight days, as well for

daily consumption of food calculated for every soldier being two pounds of meat, a pound of bread or biscuit, and a pint of wine imperial measure. If the fighting of the troops depended on their stomachs, good precaution had been taken to secure a victory. The command in chief was held by Somerset in person, supported by Warwick and Grey. The fleet was assigned to Lord Clinton.

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
August.

The effect of these preparations in Scotland

bread and drink as provender for horses and beasts.

'1. For 8 days' biscuit, 18,000lbs. a day, is in 8 days 144,000 pounds weight, which will take in wheat meal 400 quarters.

'2. Also in wine 110 tonne, after 200 gallons in a tonne.

'3. Also provender for horses and beasts, 1420 quarters; all the which is ready at Berwick saving wine and baking of the biscuit, which wine must be sent to Berwick, and bakers for the biscuit.

'There must be sent unto the Frith, for 20 days more, after the like rate and proportion:

'1. Biscuit, 36,000 lbs., and 220 tonne of sweet wine; and in provender 3510 quarters; and as for flesh, it shall be taken out of the carriage.

'2. And the carriage that must be provided by the King's Majesty for victual, provender, and ordnance is 262 carts, which may well be purveyed in York, where the great oxen be, and best wains.

'All which biscuit will take 28 days, with the largess of wheat,

1510 quarters, which, after the rate of 13 shillings and 4 pence the quarter, amounteth to 1000*l*.; and for sweet wine, which will take 560 butts, after six score gallons in a butt, and after 5*l*. the butt, amounteth to 2800*l*.; and for carriage of the same, 262 carts, which will cost, after 2 shillings a cart a day, by the space of 50 days coming and going, 1510*l*.

'Whereof must be received for 18,000 men, after 2*d*. the man the day for bread and drink, 4200*l*. After 2½*d*. the man the day, 4914*l*.; after 3*d*. the man the day, 5944*l*.; so that after 2*d*. the man the day, the victual will be more than the receipt 910*l*.; after 2½*d*., 196*l*. more than the receipt; after 3*d*. there shall be more received than the victuals draweth unto, towards the charge of bringing the victuals by sea, 834*l*.

'Also for two pounds of flesh 1½*d*.: and so every soldier shall have for his 4½*d*. one pound of biscuit, a pottell of drink, and two pounds of flesh.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office.

CH. 24. was, as might have been foreseen, to unite all ranks and all opinions in the national cause.

A.D. 1547.
August. Beton was gone, and the Regent was feeble, but Scotland rose of herself, unsolicited. Although the affectation of a correspondence might still be maintained, the English party had, in fact, perished in the abandonment of St. Andrews. The Douglasses and the Reformers were as forward to take the field as the Hamiltons and the priests. The fiery cross sped north and south, east and west. The Scots of the Isles brought up four thousand Irish archers. Priest and prelate and preacher buckled on his armour; and the baron from his Lowland castle, the Highland chief from his home among the crags of the Grampians, the trader from his desk, the night rider of the Border from his tower and peel, hurried to the gathering of the nation. Feuds of clans and enmities of creeds were no longer felt in the overpowering peril of Scottish freedom; there was one people with one cause; and the crowds who had listened to Wishart, and the kinsmen of those who were carried off prisoners for revenging his murder, were content to fight behind a banner on which a lady representing the Catholic Church was kneeling to Christ, and praying Him to save her from heresy.

Scotland
arms for
defence, all
parties
uniting.
The fiery
cross goes
out.

In the last week in August, Somerset reached Berwick. He had sent before him a letter to the Scottish lords, repeating the language which he had learnt from his master, insisting on their promises, and urging the common interests of

both nations in the marriage.* On Friday, the 2nd September, he put out a proclamation, though too late to undo his former errors, in which he said that he was not come to rob Scotland of her independence, but to compel her, in spite of herself, to accomplish the engagements of her Parliament.†

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
September.
The Protector calls on the Scots to fulfil their promises,
And crosses the Border, Sunday, Sept. 4.

Waiting till Sunday—for Sunday was his favourite day—on a Sunday he announced to Edward that he was king; on a Sunday he accepted from the council his dukedom and his lands; on a Sunday the seals were taken away from his rival Wriothesley; on a Sunday the commission was dated which made him Protector by the grace of the king—waiting, therefore, till Sunday, and invoking on his enterprise the blessing of the Almighty, he crossed the Tweed with fifteen cannon, fourteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse.‡ Sunday, Monday, and

* HAYWARD'S *Life of Edward VI.*

† HOLINSHED.

‡ Somerset's being one of the disputed characters in history, everything is welcome which throws light upon his inner nature. In the prayers of men it is hard to tell how much is real—they often cannot tell themselves; nevertheless, one reads with interest,

THE PRAYER OF THE PROTECTOR
BEFORE THE SCOTTISH WAR.

'Most merciful God, the granter of all peace and quietness, the giver of all good gifts, the defender of all nations, who hast willed all men to be ac-

counted as our neighbours, and commanded us to love them as ourself, and not to hate our enemies, but rather to wish them, yea, and also to do them good if we can, bow down thy holy and merciful eyes upon us, and look upon the small portion of the earth which professeth thy holy name and thy son Jesus Christ. Give to us all desire of peace, unity, and quietness, and a speedy wearisomeness of all war, hostility, and enmity to all them that be our enemies, that we and they may in one heart and charitable agreement, praise thy Holy Name, and reform our lives to thy godly commandment. And especially have an eye to this

- CH. 24. Tuesday he marched steadily forward, keeping
 the sea-road with the fleet in sight of him, demolishing such small fortresses as lay in his route, but turning neither to the right nor the left.
- A.D. 1547.
 September. Sept. 7. Wednesday he passed Dunbar within long cannon range, but without waiting to attack it; and that night he halted at Seton Castle. Thursday he again advanced over the ground where Mary Stuart, the object of his enterprise, practised archery fourteen years after with Bothwell, ten days after her husband's murder. The route lay along a ridge, with the sea on one side; on the other a low range of marshy meadows; nothing

small Isle of Britain; and that which was begun by thy great and infinite mercy and love to the unity and concord of both the nations, that the Scottish-men and we might hereafter live in one love and amity, knit into one nation by the most happy and godly marriage of the King's Majesty our Sovereign Lord and the young Scottish Queen, whereunto provision and agreement hath been heretofore most firmly made by human order. Grant, oh Lord, that the same might go forward, and that our son's sons, and all our posterity hereafter may feel the benefit and commodity thereof. Thy great gift of unity grant in our days. Confound all those that worketh against it. Let not their counsel prevail. Diminish their strength. Lay thy sword of punishment upon them that interrupteth this godly peace; or rather convert their hearts to the better way, and make them

embrace that unity and peace which shall be most for thy glory and the profit of both the realms. Put away from us all war and hostility; and if we be driven thereto, hold thy holy and strong power and defence over us. Be our garrison, our shield and buckler; and seeing we seek but a perpetual amity and concord, and performance of quietness promised in thy name, pursue the same with us and send thy holy angels to be our aid, that either none at all, or else so little loss and effusion of Christian blood as can, be made thereby. Look not, oh Lord, upon our sins or the sins of our enemies what they deserve; but have regard to thy most plenteous and abundant mercy, which passeth all thy works, being so infinite and marvellous. Do this, oh Lord, for thy Son's sake Jesus Christ.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ii. State Paper Office.

happening of consequence on that day, except that CH. 24.
 an English officer, observing a party of the enemy A.D. 1547.
 hiding in a cave, stopped the opening, threw in Sept. 8.
 fire, and smothered them. The march was short.
 Soon after the Protector had passed Prestonpans,
 famous also in Stuart history, he came in sight
 of the whole Scottish army, encamped on the
 slopes of Musselburgh, the English vessels lying
 in the Forth just out of gunshot of their tents.

And finds
 the Scots
 encamped
 at Mus-
 selburgh.

In numbers the Scots almost doubled the
 English. The following morning Clinton sent
 boats on shore to communicate. Fifteen hun-
 dred Scotch cavalry and a few hundred pike-
 men came out to cut off the landing party, and
 provoke a skirmish. Sir Ralph Bulmer and
 Lord Grey, with some companies of Italians
 in the English service, dashed forward to
 engage them, and after a sharp scuffle of three
 hours, the Scots were driven back. In these
 bloody combats neither party cared to encumber
 themselves with prisoners, except where there was
 a likelihood of ransom, and thirteen hundred bodies
 were left dead upon the ground. The duke, when
 the skirmish was ended, rode forward to examine
 the enemy's position. The sea was on their
 left, on their right a deep impracticable marsh.
 Between the two armies ran the Esk, low and
 half dry after the summer heat, but with high
 steep banks, and passable for horse or cannon only
 by a bridge, distant something less than a quarter
 of a mile from the mouth. Across the bridge,
 from camp to camp, there ran a road thirty feet
 wide, enclosed between turf hedges, along which

Sept. 9.
 The Eng-
 lish and
 Scottish
 cavalry
 skirmish.

The Pro-
 tector rides
 forward to
 survey the
 ground.

CH. 24. Somerset advanced with his escort. The Scots fired upon him, and killed the horse of an aide-de-camp at his side; but he crossed the bridge, rode within two bowshots of the Scottish lines, and was returning at his leisure, when he was overtaken by a herald bringing him a challenge from the Earl of Huntley to fight out the quarrel either by themselves alone, or ten to ten, or twenty to twenty.

The Earl of Huntley challenges him to single combat.

The Protector prepares to attack the Scots,

Sept. 10.

Who, however, leave their position, and attempt to cut off the English from a chance of retreat.

The time was passing away when disputes of nations could be settled by duels: Somerset's courage was unimpeachable, but he refused: the Earl of Warwick offered to take his place, but it could not be; the herald retired, and as the night closed, the English artillery was ordered forward to command the road. The enemy's position was dangerously strong; the morning would show if there was a practicable mode of assaulting it; but if the Scots had sate still to receive the attack, the defeat of Flodden might, perhaps, have been revenged at Musselburgh. As soon, however, as they had ascertained the extent of the force which the Protector had brought with him, confident in their numbers, their cause, and their enthusiasm, they began to think less of defeating the English than of preventing their escape. They persuaded themselves that, conscious of their inferiority, the invaders thought only of retreat, and that the fleet was in attendance to take them on board. When the day broke Somerset found them already across the water, their tents thrown down that not a loiterer might remain concealed there; the main body covering the hills between himself and the

land to the south, the four thousand Irish archers in front of him towards the sea. The latter, as soon as daylight permitted, were fired into from the ships, and were rapidly scattered. The Scots on the other side pushed on in force, intending, evidently, to seize the ridges in the rear, where they would have the advantage of ground, wind, and sun, and, if victorious, would destroy the entire English army.

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
Friday.
Sept. 10.

Their horses they had left behind, their heavy guns they had dragged up by hand, and they were moving with the greatest speed that they could command; but the Protector was in time to alter his dispositions, and secure the hills immediately behind him. His cannon was brought back and placed to cover the ground over which the Scots would pass to attack the camp, and Grey, with the English horse, prepared to charge.

The Earl of Angus, with 'the professors of the Gospel,' the heavy pikemen of the Lowlands, eight thousand strong, was leading; Arran was behind on the low ground with ten thousand more; and Huntley, with eight thousand Highlanders and the remains of the Irish, towards the stream, out of range from the fleet. On Angus the brunt of the battle was first to fall. He halted when he discovered that the English intended not to fly but to fight; but he could not fall back; the ground was unfavourable for cavalry—a wet fallow recently turned—and the pikemen formed to receive the charge, the first rank kneeling. Down upon them came Grey, with a heavy plunging gallop, but the horses were without barbs, and the lances

The battle
of Pinkie
Cleugh.

CH. 24. were shorter than the Scottish pikes. Down as they closed rolled fifty men and horses, amidst the crash of breaking spears. Grey himself was wounded in the mouth; Sir Arthur Darcy's hand was disabled, and the English standard was saved only by the flight of the bearer. The men turned, reeled, scattered, and rallied only when Grey and Lord Edward Seymour fought back their way to them out of the *mêlée*. They might as well charge, they said, upon a wall of steel.

A. D. 1547.
Sept. 10.
The English horse charge the Lowland spearmen, and are broken.

But the line of the Scots which the enemy could not break was broken by victory. As they saw the English fly they rushed on in pursuit, and found themselves face to face with Warwick, the men-at-arms, and the Italian musketeers.

The Scots pursue, and are broken in turn by the archers and the artillery.

Checked by the volleys of the matchlocks, and thrown into confusion, they were assailed next by the archers, and forced to cross the fire of the artillery; and the cavalry, once more forming, swept again upon their disordered lines, and drove the struggling mass back upon their comrades. Ill trained and undisciplined, the reserves were caught with panic; Arran and Huntley turned bridle and rode for their lives, and the whoops and yells of the Irish increased the terror; there was no thought of fighting more—it was only who could fly first and fly fastest. They flung away their arms: swords, pikes, and lances strewed the ground where they had been drawn up, 'as thick,' it was said, 'as rushes in a chamber.*' Some crept under the willow pollards in the meadows,

The English form and charge again.
The Scots fly, and the battle is lost.

* HOLINSHED, from the account of an eye-witness.

and lay concealed like otters with their mouths above the water; some made for Edinburgh, some along the sands to Leith under the fire of the fleet, some up the river-side towards Dalkeith; some lay as if dead and let the chase pass by them. The Highlanders held together and saved themselves with an orderly retreat, but the crowd fell unresisting victims under the sabres of the avenging cavalry. It was a massacre more than a battle; for, of the English, at most, not more than two hundred fell, and those chiefly at the first charge under the lances of the pikemen; the number of Scots killed was from ten to fourteen thousand. Two causes provoked the English, it was said, to an especial vindictiveness; they resented ungenerously their own first repulse; but the chief reason was the treacherous surprise at Ancram Muir, and the death of Lord Evers, the hero of the Border troopers. Fifteen hundred prisoners were taken, but in general no quarter was given. Gentlemen might have been spared for their ransoms; but, for some unknown cause, the noble and the peasant were dressed alike in white leather or fustian; there was little to distinguish them, and they were cut down in indiscriminate heaps along the roads and fields to the very walls of Edinburgh. Multitudes of priests, at one time, it was said, as many as four thousand, were among the slain. The banner of the kneeling Lady was taken amidst the scorn of the victors; and when at last the retreat was sounded, and the pursuers, weary with killing, gathered again into their camp, they sent up a shout which legend

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
Sept. 10.The Scots
are cut to
pieces.The Eng-
lish do not
show
mercy.

CH. 24. said was heard in Edinburgh Castle. The day closed with one more act of barbarity. A detachment of Scots had been stationed with cannon in a small fort overlooking the field, and had given some trouble. When the battle was lost, they were left behind and unable to fly; they silenced their guns, therefore, and concealed themselves, intending to withdraw in the night. But they were discovered and surrounded; they were not offered the alternative of surrender; the place was set on fire, and they were destroyed.

A.D. 1547.
Sept. 10.

The English victory ruins their influence in Scotland,

And makes the marriage finally impossible.

In this deed of savageness closed the battle of Musselburgh, otherwise called Pinkie Cleugh or Slough; the last stricken field between Scot and Saxon before the union of the crowns, the last and also the most piteous. A battle loses its terrors when a great cause is contended for, when it is a condition under which some interest or principle makes its way and establishes itself. But of Pinkie Cleugh the result was unmixed evil to both countries. The marriage of Mary and Edward was an object which England and Scotland ought to have equally desired. Yet England sought it by means which made it impossible, and the Scots command more sympathy in the disaster brought upon them by their national pride than the conquerors command admiration either for their cause or for their courage. National qualities are not to be measured by single consequences, and while indignation only can be felt at the crooked tricks of Beton, but for which the union would have been peaceably effected, the spirit which rose up

against the invasion of Somerset had its rise in CH. 24.
the noblest instincts of the Scottish character. A.D. 1547.
Sept. 11.
The Protector had gained a great battle, and by
his victory he only renewed the lease of enmity
which had almost expired. The Scots forgot Hereditary
enmities are
renewed.
their own differences in a great hatred of England,
and the hearts of all parties among them turned
passionately to France. Although the available
military strength of the nation was for the mo-
ment annihilated, the conquerors could not follow
up their success. The queen was withdrawn to
Stirling, and they could not reach her. They
had brought supplies with them for a month
only, and so long and no longer could they re-
main; neither force nor payment could extract
the means of subsistence from a country where it
did not exist; there were no more stores in
readiness to be brought up from England, and
Scotland, unsuccessful in her arms, drove the in- The Pro-
tector re-
turns to
England
covered
with glory.
vaders back by her hardy poverty.

Leith was again burnt—so much of it as would
burn: the ships in the harbour were taken and
destroyed; two islands in the Forth were fortified,
and small garrisons left there; a few castles were
dismantled. These alone were the tangible fruits
of the bloody inroad of the Duke of Somerset.

But at least he had surrounded himself with
glory. He did not return with the Queen of
Scots, but he had fought and won a great battle.
He was the hero of the hour, and while the
hour lasted, he could work his will in Church or
State without fear of opposition.

When he set out for Scotland, the ecclesias-

CH. 24. tical visitors were in full activity. From the people, wherever they went, they met with no open opposition; in London they were indisputably popular. In London the old, the timid, the superstitious, the imaginative, prayed in secret to the saints to deliver them from evil; but the industrious masses had caught the spirit of the age, and gave the changes cordial welcome. So it had been at Portsmouth; so it was in the towns generally, especially in the towns along the coast, where activity and enterprise shook the minds of men out of the control of routine. So, however, it was not in the country, as events came in time to show. As with the first spread of Christianity, so with the spread of the Reformation, the towns went first, and the country lagged behind reluctantly. The life of towns was a life of change; the life of the country was a life of uniformity, where sons walked in the ways of their fathers, and each day and season brought with it its occupation, its custom, or its ceremony, unaltered for tens of generations. The fall of the abbeys had given the first shock to the stationary spirit, but the crimes of the monks were half forgotten in the sadness of their desolate homes. It was no light thing to the village peasant to see the royal arms staring above the empty socket of the crucifix to which he had prayed, the saints after which he was named in his baptism flung out into the mud, the pictures on the church walls daubed with plaster, over which his eyes had wandered wonderingly in childhood.

A. D. 1547.
September.
The Church
visitors
make
progress.

In the
towns the
Reforma-
tion makes
progress
faster than
in the
country,

Other changes added to his restlessness. The

acts of parliament which forbade enclosures and the amalgamation of farms were less and less observed; the peasant farmers were more and more declining into labourers, rents were rising, and the necessities of life were rising, and, in the experience of the agricultural poor, an increase of personal suffering was the chief result of the so-called Reformation.

CH. 24.
A. D. 1547.
September.
And the
country, for
other
reasons, is
discon-
tented.

Yet for the moment loyalty was stronger than discontent. If the country people murmured, they submitted, and the visitors met with important resistance only from the notorious bishops of Winchester and of London. To Bonner they brought their injunctions and homilies at the end of August. He accepted them, but he accepted them with a protest; he could observe them, he said, only if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of his Church, and he required the visitors to enter his conditions in the register. His answer was reported to the council, and was held to be to the evil example of such as should hear it, and to the contempt of the authority which the king justly possessed as head of the Church of England.* The Bishop of London was committed to the Fleet,† where, after eight days' meditation, he repented. A form of submission was drawn up for him peculiarly ignominious; he signed it, and was released.‡

Bonner
protests
against the
injunctions,
and is im-
prisoned.

He repents,
and is
released.

* *Privy Council Records*, MS. Edward VI.

† In the Protector's absence, Cranmer must be considered the person responsible for measures of this kind.

‡ 'Where I did unadvisedly make such a protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appears to me neither

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
September.
Gardiner
opposes the
visitors
more
skilfully.

The resistance of Gardiner was more skilful and more protracted. Up to the Protector's departure he had continued in anxious correspondence with him. Unlimited licence had been allowed both to pulpit and printing-press; John Bale, the noisiest, the most profane, the most indecent of the movement party, had been pouring out pamphlets and plays.* Gardiner wrote in protest to Somerset against the toleration by the Government of the insolence and brutality of him and others like him. He remonstrated also against the sudden alteration of doctrine contemplated in the homilies; and three weeks before the visitors were coming to Winchester, he was invited, at his own earnest request, to state his views to the council. 'If he could have written with the blood of his heart,' he told the Protector, 'he would have done it, to have stayed the thing till it had been more maturely digested.'† The whole proceedings on the visitation, he said, were illegal. No royal commission could have place against an act

reasonable, nor such as might stand with the duty of a subject; and forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the registrar of that visitation enacted and put in record, I do now revoke my said protestation; and I beseech your lordships that this revocation may likewise be put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth.—Bonner's Recantation, printed in BURNET's *Col-lectanea*.

* The character of which, and

the writer's character, may be judged from the following specimen. In one of his farces a priest is introduced, who, on the stage, offers the following prayer:—

'Omnipotens et sempiternus Deus qui in usum nostrum formasti laicos concede quæsumus ut eorum uxoribus et filiabus—' The reader must imagine, or had better not imagine, the rest.

† Gardiner to the Protector: *MS. Harleian*, 417. Printed by FOLGE, vol. vi.

of parliament;* and even in the late king's reign, he said the prerogative had more than once come in collision with the law, and had been worsted by it.†

The council permitted him to speak; but his plea of the law they set aside by the plea of their consciences; and they required him categorically to say whether he would or would not submit

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
September.
He declares
the whole
proceedings
to be illegal.

* It is to be remembered that, throughout the correspondence, Gardiner speaks as if the Protector was being dragged on by Cranmer against his will. The Protector had once, he said, promised him that 'he would suffer no innovations.' According to Gardiner, it was not the Protector who caused the deposition of Wriothesley: 'Your Grace,' he said, 'shewed so much favour to him that all the world commended your gentleness.' 'For the visitation,' he added, 'I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time, whereunto, although your Grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather had it tarry till your return if ye had not been pressed. That word 'pressed,' I noted in your letter to me, when ye wrote ye were pressed on both sides; and methought if, by bringing myself into most extreme danger in your absence, I could have stayed the matter, beside my duty to God and my Sovereign Lord, I had done you a pleasure.' — Correspondence of Gardiner with the Protector: *FOX*, vol. vi. On the other hand, Paget, in the letter of remonstrance to which I have referred, speaks as if Somer-

set listened to no one whose views did not coincide with his own.

† He mentions curious instances:—'Whether a king may command against a common law or an act of parliament, there is never a judge or other man in the realm ought to know more by experience of that the laws have said than I.

'First, my Lord Cardinal, that obtained his legacy by our late Sovereign Lord's requirements at Rome, yet, because it was against the laws of the realm, the judges concluded the offence of *Premunire*, which matter I bare away, and took it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers said so, but my reason digested it not. The lawyers, for confirmation of their doings, brought in the case of Lord Tiptoft. An earl he was, and learned in the civil laws, who being chancellor, because in execution of the king's commandment he offended the laws of the realm, suffered on Tower Hill. They brought in examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like cases for transgression of laws by the king's commandment, and this I learned in that case.

'Since that time being of the

CH. 24. to the visitors. He said that he had three weeks in which to decide before they would come to him. At present he believed he could not submit, but he might change. The servant in the parable refused to do his master's will, and yet afterwards did it. It was hard to treat him as a criminal for an offence which, if offence it was, he had not yet committed, and might not commit.

A. D. 1547-
September.
The council
set aside his
objections,
And he re-
quests time
to make up
his mind ;

But Cran-
mer insists
on obe-
dience, and
Gardiner is
imprisoned.

But Cranmer chose to be obeyed. He summoned Gardiner privately before him at the deanery of St. Paul's; and he told him that, if he would comply, he should be restored to the council, where his assistance would be welcomed. But Gardiner was unable to give the required promise, and was committed, like Bonner, to the Fleet. 'I have held my office sixteen years,' he wrote to Sir John Godsalue, who was one of the visitors; 'I have studied only how I may depart

council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn, when it came to punish the offender, the judges would answer it might not be by the law, because the Act of Parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price. Whereupon at last followed the Act of Proclamations, in the passing whereof were many large words spoken.'

After mentioning other cases, he goes on :—

'I reasoned once in the parliament house, where there was free speech without danger, and the Lord Audely, to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation, as he knew, 'Thou

art a good fellow, Bishop,' quoth he; 'look at the Act of Supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another act no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law, or an act of parliament. An this were not,' quoth he, 'you bishops would enter in with the king, and by means of his supremacy order the laws as ye listed. But we will provide,' quoth he, 'that the premunire shall never go off your heads.' This I bare away then, and held my peace.'—Gardiner to the Protector: *MS. Harleian*, 417; *Foxx*, vol. vi.

with it without offence to God's law; and I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over, so I offend not God's law nor the king's; I will no more care to see my bishopric taken from me than myself taken from my bishopric; I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon.*

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
October.

Gardiner had endeavoured to destroy Cranmer. It was no more than retaliation that he suffered a small injustice in his turn at Cranmer's hand. But injustice it was; his arbitrary committal had no pretext of law for it; nor, it seems, were he and Bonner the only sufferers. On the return of the Protector from Scotland, the imprisoned bishop appealed to him in language which was not the less just because it was used by one who, when in power, knew as little what justice meant.

He appeals
to the
Protector,

'Whatever become of me,' he said, 'I would your Grace did well; men be mortal, and deeds revive: and methinketh my Lord of Canterbury doth well thus to entangle your Grace with this matter of religion, and to borrow of your authority the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench, with prisonment in his house, wherewith to cause men to agree to that it pleaseth him to call truth in religion, not stablished by any law in the realm. A law it is not yet, and before a law made I have not seen such an imprisonment as I sustain. Our late sovereign lord, whom God pardon, suffered every man to say his mind without imprisonment, till the matter was estab-

* Gardiner to Sir John Godsalue: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

CH. 24. ness's father, good and useful as they had been in the past bad times, were held to be needed no longer. The Act of Words, and the sharper clauses of the Act of Supremacy, were blotted out of the statute book; and offences under those, or any other acts which in the late reign had been raised into treason or felony, not having been treason or felony before, fell back into misdemeanours.* Gardiner was in the Fleet, but Gardiner was an exception, and persecution as such was to be at an end.†

A.D. 1547.
November.
The treason
acts are
modified.

Those who
spoke irre-
verently of
the Sacra-
ment to be
punished.

'The king,' nevertheless, 'desired unity and concord in religion;' and although 'he wished the same to be brought to pass with all clemency and mercy, and although he wished that his loving subjects should study rather for love than for fear to do their duties to Almighty God;'—there were profanities which could not wholly be tolerated, and those who spoke irre-

* 1 Edward VI. cap. 12. The repeal was not carried without a conference between the Houses, nor was it approved of as universally as we might expect. Sir John Mason found fault with the alterations in a remarkable compliment to the English people. 'In all other countries,' he said, 'speeches are at liberty, for such are the people's natures, as when they have talked they have done. In our country it is otherwise, for there talking is preparatory to doing; and the worst act that ever was done in our time was the general abolishing of the

Act of Words by the Duke of Somerset, whereof we have already had some experience.'—Mason to the Council: *MS. Germany*, Bundle 16, Mary, State Paper Office.

† The popular party thought of Gardiner what the witty Duchess of Suffolk said to himself when she passed his prison and saw him at the window. 'Ah! bishop,' she said, 'it is merry with the lambs when the wolves are shut up.'—*Narrative of the sufferings of Catherine Duchess of Suffolk*: HOLINSHED.

verently and profanely of the Eucharist might be punished with fine and imprisonment.* The concluding clause of this statute enjoined communion in both kinds† on laity as well as clergy; and in jealousy of the abused power of excommunication, the parish priest was prohibited from refusing the sacrament to any one who reverently desired it. The *congé d'élire* was next abolished in the election of bishops. There was to be no longer any affectation or delusion as to their position. They held their commissions under the crown; they were nominated by the crown; the supposed choice by a dean and chapter was a hypocritical fiction, and should exist no longer, and with institutions and processes in the spiritual courts, their appointments should run for the future in the name of the king.‡

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
November.
The power
of excom-
munication
is laid un-
der a check.

The *congé
d'élire* is
abolished.

Lest the validity of these changes should be questioned on account of the king's minority, the act giving him power of repealing them on coming of age was reviewed and altered. All laws passed during a minority were declared good and valid for the time being; and although the king himself might reconsider, at a later period, the legislation which had been conducted in his

The Mino-
rity Act is
explained
and
limited.

* 1 Edward VI. cap. 1.

† The act was entitled as 'Against such as irreverently speak against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the sacrament of the altar.' In the preamble of the act the sacrament of the altar was again spoken of, but with the addition, 'called in

Scripture the supper and table of the Lord.' The institution was carefully described; but the change in the elements was neither affirmed nor denied. It is curious to watch the slow steps by which the central mystery of Catholicism was invaded.

‡ 1 Edward VI. cap. 2.

CH. 24. name, the power was not to extend to his successor, should he die meanwhile.*

A.D. 1547.
November.

While parliament was thus employed, convocation had assembled as usual. The clergy were disconcerted to find that, slight as had been the respect with which they had been treated in the late reign, they were treated with less in the present. Questions, not only of Church policy, but of doctrine, were discussed and disposed of by the laity without so much as the form of consulting those to whom, until these late times, they had exclusively belonged; while the submission of the clergy to Henry VIII. precluded them from holding discussions in their own houses without licence from the crown. Discontented, not unnaturally, with the shadowy vitality which remained to them, they petitioned Cranmer, first briefly, then at elaborate length, that statutes concerning matters of religion and ecclesiastical ordinances might not pass without their consent; and finding their complaints treated with indifference, or anticipating the neglect of them, they repeated the attempts which had been made unsuccessfully by the Irish clergy a few years before. In the writs of summons addressed to Bishops at the opening of parliament, the clause 'Præmonentes'† implied that deans, archdeacons, and the

The convocation send in a petition that they may have a voice in ecclesiastical legislation,

Or that the proctors of the clergy may have seats in the House of Commons.

* 1 Edward VI. cap. 11.

† Præmonentes Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ ac Archidiaconos totumque Clerum vestræ diocesis quod iidem Decanus et Archidiaconi in propriis Personis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum,

idemque Clerum per duos Procuratores idoneos plenam et sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis Capitulo et Clero divisim habentes, prædictis die et loco personaliter intersint ad consentiendum his quæ tum ibidem de Communi

proctors of the clergy were an integral part of the legislature. They petitioned that they might now be 'associated with the Commons in the nether house of parliament.'

CH. 24.
A.D. 1547.
November.

The letter of the writs was on their side, but precedent was against their claim, and that precedent had been set by themselves. In the days of their power the clergy had divided themselves from parliament, claiming a right to assemble at their own time and by their own authority, and to legislate separately at their own pleasure. Their ambition recoiled upon themselves. As they had constituted themselves a separate body, a separate body they should continue—or, rather, a disembodied ghost. They were not permitted to fall back upon privileges which they had voluntarily abandoned;* the Lords and Commons continued to do their work for them; and, amongst other things discussed, was a question in which, if in any, they might in reason expect to have been consulted. The lower house, on the 20th of December, sent up a bill 'that lay and married men might be priests and have benefices.'† Con-

Their requests are refused.

Dec. 20.
The marriage of the clergy is discussed.

Consilio dicti Regni nostri divina favente clementia contigerit ordinari.

* Petitions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Archbishop of Canterbury: BURNET's *Col-lectanea*, pp. 264, 265.

† *Lords Journals*, December 20, 1547. One could wish that some draught of this bill had survived. It is difficult to make out the character of it from so brief a description. From the entries in the journals in the

following session, however, it is plain that the question was much debated, that the measure of relief went through many forms before it was passed; and as the first form in which it was then brought up in the House of Commons—that laymen having wives may be priests, and have benefices—is open to no misconstruction, I conclude, that the original bill was of the same kind.

- CH. 24. sending reluctantly to innovation where custom and prejudice had so strong a hold, it would seem that the first measure of relief which they contemplated was a compromise. Laymen having wives already might be ordained; those who were ordained while unmarried, would still remain single. The bill, however, was unsatisfactory. In the Lords it was read once, on the 21st
- Dec. 21. December: parliament was prorogued a few days after, and it was dropped.

Vagrancy
is again
trouble-
some,

Two other measures which were passed in this session require attention. The vagrancy laws of the late reign were said to have failed from over severity. Although whipping, branding, or even hanging were not considered penalties in themselves too heavy for the sturdy and valiant rascal who refused to be reformed; yet through 'foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed,' there had been no hanging and very little whipping, and vagrancy was more troublesome than ever. Granting that it was permissible to treat the vagabond as a criminal in an age when transportation did not exist, and when public works on which he could be employed at the cost of government were undertaken but rarely, the question what to do with him in such a capacity was a hard one. The compulsory idleness of a life in gaol was at once expensive and useless; and practically the choice lay between no punishment at all, the cart's tail, and the gallows. The Protector, although his scheme proved a failure, may be excused, therefore, for having attempted a novel experiment, for having invented an ar-

The ques-
tion being
at all times
a difficult
one,

rangement, the worst feature of which was an offensive name; and which, in fact, resembled the system which, till lately, was in general use in our own penal colonies.

The object was, if possible, to utilize the rascal part of the population, who were held to have forfeited, if not their lives, yet their liberties. A servant determinately idle, leaving his work, or an able-bodied vagrant, roaming the country without means of honest self-support and without seeking employment, was to be brought before the two nearest magistrates. 'On proof of the idle living of the said person,' he was to be branded on the breast, where the mark would be concealed by his clothes, with the letter V, and adjudged to some honest neighbour as 'a slave,' 'to have and to hold the said slave for the space of two years then next following;' 'and to order the said slave as follows:' that is to say, 'to take such person adjudged as slave with him, and only giving the said slave bread and water, or small drink, and such refuse of meat as he shall think meet, to cause the said slave to work.' If mild measures failed, if the slave was still idle or ran away, he was to be marked on the cheek or forehead with an S, and be adjudged a slave for life. If finally refractory, then and then only he might be tried and sentenced as a felon. Twenty years before, when vagrancy was less excusable, and the honest man could honestly maintain himself in abundance, such a measure might have worked successfully—supposing only that the word slave had been exchanged for some other expression

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
December.

The experiment is tried of making the confirmed vagrant in- to a slave.

CH. 24. which grated less harshly in English ears. In the condition of things which was now commencing, as I shall presently have to show, neither this nor any other penal act against idleness could be practically enforced. Penal laws were rather required at the other extremity of the social scale. The measure failed, and in two years was withdrawn.*

A.D. 1547.
December.

The remaining property of all ecclesiastical corporations is again placed in the hands of the crown.

Another measure, however, did not fail, unless, indeed, to accomplish unmixed evil be to fail. It has been mentioned that the year before the death of Henry, the remaining property of all ecclesiastical and semi-ecclesiastical foundations, the lands, the rentcharges, the miscellaneous donations for the support of universities, colleges, schools, hospitals, alms-houses, or parochial charities, for chantries, trentals, obits, masses, for stipendiary priests in family or other chapels, for religious services of different kinds, for candles, offerings, ornaments of churches, and other useful or superstitious purposes, were placed by parliament in the hands of the king, to receive such 'alterations' as the change of times required. The task of dealing with complicated property where the

* The details of Somerset's bill are curious. The children of beggars were to be taken from them and brought up in some honest calling. If no householder could be found to accept the charge of a slave, he was to be adjudged to his town or parish to work in chains on the highways or bridges. Collections were to be made in the

parish churches every Sunday for the relief of the deserving poor. The slaves of private persons were to wear rings of iron on their necks, arms, or legs. As their crime was the refusal to maintain themselves, so if they could earn or obtain any kind of property, they were entitled to their freedom.

use and the abuse were elaborately interwoven, was at once a difficulty and a temptation. What was good ought to be maintained and extended; increased provision should be made for the poor, for the students at the universities, for all general objects which the interests of the commonwealth required: endowments for purposes wholly effete or mischievous might be confiscated, and the funds applied to redeem the expenses of the late war. The Parliament had hesitated before they placed so large a trust in the hands of Henry VIII., who had specially thanked the two Houses for so signal an evidence of confidence. But the grant was to himself alone. He had power to appoint commissioners to take possession of the property and make the desired changes, but for the term 'of his natural life' only. The Protector's government applied for a renewal of the same trust, and obtained it.

The preamble of the new act, more explicit than that of the act under Henry, stated that, in times of superstition, when the perfect method of salvation was not understood, when men held vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, they had established chantries and such other institutions, thinking to benefit their souls. The funds so misapplied might be converted to good and godly uses; additional alms-houses, grammar-schools, and hospitals might be founded, the number of clergy might be increased in populous parishes, and funds might be provided further for the repair of harbours, piers, embankments, and other public works. The details of

CH. 24.

A.D. 1547.
December.

CH. 24. the intended alterations, however, could not in the present parliament be conveniently brought forward, and the council requested that the uncontrolled confidence which had been reposed in Henry should be extended to them.*

A.D. 1547.
December.

Cranmer,
Tunstal,
and six
other
bishops
make an
opposition,
but do not
succeed.

Cranmer, who foresaw the consequences, opposed the grant to the extent of his power. He was supported by Tunstal and six other bishops; but he failed. The two universities, Winchester, Eton, and St. George's at Windsor were exempted from the operation of the act. Cathedral chapters, too, were excepted, unless they maintained obits or chantries. But the whole of the rest of the property was made over to the council; and, as one of the immediate effects, the 'priory and convent of Norwich,' converted by Henry VIII. in 1538 to a chapter, were required, under pretence of some informality, to make a fresh surrender, and they were reincorporated only with a loss of manors and lands, worth 300 marks a year.† The shrines and the altar-plate at York Cathedral were sent to the Mint, to be issued in base coin; and the example being contagious, parish vestries began to appropriate the chalices, jewels, bells, and ornaments in the country churches, and offer them publicly for sale.‡ The carcase was cast out into the fields, and the vultures of all breeds and orders flocked to the banquet.

* 1 Edward VI. cap. 14.

† Petition of Dean and Chapter of Norwich: *Tanner MSS.* Bodleian Library, 90.

‡ *Tanner MSS.* Ibid.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

ON the retreat of the English army a convention of the Estates assembled at Stirling; the young queen was sent, under the care of Lord Erskine, to the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton, and while the Protector was expecting to hear of the arrival of commissioners at Berwick to ask for peace, couriers were hastening to France with an offer of Mary and the Scottish crown to the Dauphin. The Protector, when he learnt what they had done, made a fresh appeal to Scottish good feeling. He insisted that the marriage of Edward and Mary was obviously intended by Providence. England did not wish for conquest—it desired only union. It won battles and offered friendship, love, peace, equality, and amity. The Scots and English were shut up in one small island apart from the world; they were alike in blood, manners, form, and language—it was monstrous that they should continue to regard one another with mortal hatred. It would be better for the Scots to be conquered by England than succoured by France: conquered or unconquered,

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.
October.

The Estates
of Scotland
offer Mary
Stuart to
the Dau-
phin.

The Pro-
tector ap-
peals to
their better
feelings.

CH. 25. England only desired to force upon them a share of her own prosperity; while France would rule over them by a viceroy, and make them slaves. If they would accept instead the hand which was held out to them, 'The Scots and English being made one by amity, having the sea for a wall, mutual love for a garrison, and God for a defence, should make so noble and well agreeing a monarchy, that neither in peace need they be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly power.'*

A.D. 1547.
November.
He offers
friendship.
If they re-
fuse, he will
chastise
them.

All this was most true, most just, most reasonable, but it agreed ill with the massacre at Mus-selburgh. The Protector concluded with a threat that, if the Scots would not accept his terms when offered freely, he would chastise them again by fire and sword. The Scots answered not in words, but in actions. You require us to unite with you; we prefer to remain as we are, and to keep our freedom. If we call evil what you call good, where is your right to compel us to a good which we do not desire? Our parliament, you tell us, gave their consent to you; well, then, we are a free people, and we have changed our minds. You say you will chastise us—come, then, and do your worst.

The French court, on the arrival of the message of the Estates, closed instantly with the offer. Either the Dauphin should have the queen, or some nobleman, either French or in the French service, should have her. The Scots

* Address of the Duke of Somerset to the Scottish Nation :
HOLINSHED.

might desire, on reflection, that the queen's husband should be able to reside among them permanently, which a French sovereign could not do. But, at all events, France would make Scotland's quarrel her own quarrel. The terms of the alliance might be considered at leisure. For the moment another candidate was thought of for the disputed hand of Mary Stuart. Ireland began to stir; O'Donnell broke into rebellion in the north, and fifteen hundred Scots landed to support him. News reached the council that on the Thursday before Christmas-day, seven French vessels were at Dumbarton, and that on board one of them was 'young Gerald of Kildare;*' and it was said 'that the said Kildare should marry with the Scottish queen, and arrear all Ireland in their party against England, and further, that before Easter there should be such a battle fought that all England should rue it.'†

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.
November.

France will
make the
quarrel of
Scotland
her quarrel.

Under such an aspect of affairs prudence might have again suggested to the Protector that, in the words of Henry VIII., 'he had a Milan in his hand for the French king;' that the present

* Son of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and heir of the earldom.

† *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office. This marriage was doubtless talked of at Paris. To unite Scotland and Ireland against England was a constant object of French policy. But Kildare's presence at Dumbarton at Christmas, 1547, was probably a mistake. Among the *Privy Council Records*, under the date of Jan. 28,

1547, I find a note of a letter from a Mr. Young, at Florence, who said that he had fallen in with Kildare at that place: that Kildare had told him that he was but a child when he was taken from Ireland; that he regretted his faults, and would make his submission if he could be allowed to return. A resolution of council was passed to admit him to favour, and a letter was written to that effect.

CH. 25. humour of France, if not created by the English occupation of Boulogne, was infinitely enhanced by it; that by a sacrifice on one side he might purchase non-interference on the other. The Prince whose honour had been touched by the failure of his attempt, when Dauphin, to surprise the English garrison, had been heard to say that he would recover Boulogne or lose his realm for it.*

A.D. 1548.
February. The French determine to recover Boulogne.

March. The French were already laying batteries across the river opposite to the English mole, from which shots were fired at the workmen; and the ambassador at Paris warned the Protector that 'Catherine de Medici hated England above all other nations,' on account of the disgrace inflicted on French arms by the conquest and occupation of territory.

If war should break out, a garrison equal to an army would be required in the Boullonnaise. The fleet would have to be maintained on a war footing, and the finances were already deeply distressed. But the Protector was enthusiastic, and believed himself irresistible. In the spring ships were in preparation in the French harbours to transport an army into Scotland. He determined to anticipate their coming; and on the 18th of April, Lord Grey the Marshal of Berwick, and Sir Thomas Palmer, again crossed the Border, and advanced to Haddington, which they took and elaborately fortified. After spending six weeks there improving the defences, they left a garrison in charge, of two thousand five hundred

April 18.
An English army again enters Scotland, and fortifies Haddington.

* *Calais MSS.* bundle 10, State Paper Office.

men, and after wasting the country for six miles round Edinburgh at their leisure, they fell back the first week in June upon Berwick. CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
June.

In the same week Villegaignon, the French admiral, sailed from Brest with sixty transports, twenty-two galleys, and six thousand men. D'Essy, the successful defender of Landrecy in 1544, was in command of the army. He was accompanied by Pietro Strozzi, Catherine de Medici's cousin, by several companies of Italians, the Rhinegrave, de Biron, and other persons of note and name. War was not declared against England; Strozzi said, briefly, that for the time they were to be considered Scots, and they sailed out of harbour with the red lion at the admiral's masthead.*

On the 16th of June they landed at Leith. The troops were allowed a few days' rest at Edinburgh to recruit themselves after their sea-sickness,† and the work of driving out the English was commenced in the siege of Haddington.‡

* CALDERWOOD; KNOX.

† BUCHANAN.

‡ Among the convict crews of the galleys employed on this expedition were the prisoners of St. Andrews. They had been promised freedom on their surrender; but the gentlemen were confined in French fortresses; the insignificant, and among them (so singularly men judge of one another) John Knox, were sent to serve in the fleet. From Knox's account of their treatment, the discipline could not

have been extremely cruel. 'When mass was said on board, or the *Salve Regina* was sung, the Scotsmen put on their bonnets. An image of the Virgin, 'a glorious painted lady,' was brought on board to be kissed, and was offered 'to one of the Scotsmen there chained,' probably to Knox himself. He gently said, 'Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; I will not touch it.' 'The officer violently thrust it in his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who,

Six thousand French sail from Brest for Scotland.

June 16. They land at Leith, and besiege Haddington.

CH. 25. The Regent joined d'Essy with eight thousand Scots; trenches were drawn, and siege guns brought up from the ships; the conditions of the French support were then discussed in detail, and agreed upon. Inside the lines of the camp were the ruins of an abbey which the English had destroyed. On this appropriate spot was held the convention of Haddington. That the Dauphin, and no inferior person, should marry the heiress of Scotland, was the natural desire of her uncles, the powerful and ambitious Guises. Their influence had prevailed. The crowns of France and Scotland were to be formally and for ever united. Scotland was to retain her own laws and liberties. The French would defend her then and ever from her 'auld enemies.* The formal records of the convention declare that the resolution was unanimous; but there were some persons who were able to see that their liberty would be as much in danger from a union with France as from a union with England. The Pro-

The marriage of the Dauphin and Mary Stuart is determined at the convention of Haddington.

A.D. 1548.
June.

seeing the extremity, took the idol, and advisedly looking about, he cast it in the river, and said, 'Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough; let her learn to swim.' After this the Scots were troubled no further in such matters.'

Here, again, is another fine scene.

On a grey summer dawn, 'lying between Dundee and St. Andrews, John Knox being so extremely sick that few hoped his life, Master James Balfour

willed him to look to the land, and asked him if he knew it, who answered, 'I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify his holy name in the same place.'—Knox's *History of the Reformation*.

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 1548.

tector at the last moment had sent an offer with which he had better have commenced. He undertook to abstain from interference till Edward should be of age, if the Scots, on their part, would make no engagements with the French. Their queen should remain among themselves, and at the end of ten years should be free to make her own choice. Good sense had not been wholly washed away by the bloodshed at Musselburgh, and voices were heard to say that this offer was a reasonable one.* But exasperation and the hope of revenge were overwhelmingly predominant. The queen-mother, Mary of Guise, bold, resolute, and skilful, appeared in person in the convention. The Duchy of Chatelherault was bestowed on the Regent Arran, with a pension of twelve thousand francs; and money was freely used in other quarters. The opposition was silenced, and the intended bride of the Dauphin, that there might be no room left for a second repentance, should be placed at once beyond the reach of the English arms. Villegaignon weighed anchor on the instant, evaded the English cruisers who were watching for him at the mouth of the Forth, and running round the Orkneys, fell back upon the Clyde, took the young queen on board at Dumbarton, with her brother Lord James Stuart (afterwards known to history as the Regent Murray), and bore her safely to Brest.† 'So,' says Knox, 'she was sold to go into France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

June.

The Protector offers to leave Mary to choose for herself when of age, if the French alliance is given up.

But the French party carry the day,

And Mary Stuart is taken away to Paris.

* BUCHANAN.

† CALDERWOOD; BUCHANAN.

CH. 25. that liquor that should remain with her all her
 A.D. 1548. lifetime a plague to the realm, and for her own
 July. final destruction.*

The siege
 of Had-
 dington
 advances.

The siege of Haddington was then pressed in form. The sallies of the garrison were incessant and destructive. The English commander Sir James Wilford, won the admiration of the French themselves by his gallantry. But the trenches were pushed forward day after day. The batteries were armed with heavy cannon which would throw sixty shot each in twelve hours—in those times an enormous exploit. The walls were breached in many places, and the advanced works of the besiegers were at last so close to the town that the English could reach them with lead balls swung in the hand with cords. In this position the siege was turned into a blockade. The garrison were short of provisions and short of powder, and ‘for matches’ they were ‘tearing their shirts into rags.’†

When their extremity was known at Berwick, Lord Grey collected the Border force in haste, and was preparing to go to their assistance, when he was stopped by an order of council. The Earl of Shrewsbury was to lead an army into Scotland as large as that which had won Pinkie Cleugh, and Grey was directed to confine himself to throwing in supplies. The instructions may have been more defensible than they appear. Sir Warham St. Leger and Captain Wyndham set out from Berwick with two hundred foot, and powder and

Relief is
 sent to the
 garrison,
 but the
 English ca-
 valry are
 destroyed.

* KNOX's *History of the Reformation*.

† HOLINSHED.

commissariat waggons. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Robert Bowes formed their escort with thirteen hundred light cavalry. The adventure was desperate, and was desperately accomplished. Covered by the charge of the horse, St. Leger succeeded in bringing his convoy within the walls; but Palmer and Bowes were taken, and the entire detachment was annihilated.* Haddington, however, was saved. Shrewsbury advanced by forced marches with fifteen thousand men, supported as before by the fleet; and d'Essy, doubting whether the Scots could be trusted in a general action, raised the siege, and fell back on Edinburgh. The garrison was relieved and reinforced, and the superiority of the English in the field was again asserted.

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
July.

The Earl of Shrewsbury advances, and the French raise the siege.

After a display of power, however, Shrewsbury could only retire as the Protector had done. Twenty miles of Teviotdale were wasted, but this was not to conquer Scotland; and, unless the country could be occupied, as well as overrun, no progress was really made. Conducted on the present system, the war could produce no fruits except infinite misery, unavailing bloodshed, and feats of useless gallantry. The expulsion or withdrawal of the troops from Haddington and

* So say the Scottish historians, and Holinshed, who took pains to inform himself accurately on such points, confirms them. The Protector, however, on the 6th of August, wrote to his brother, Lord Seymour, referring to this business: 'The last evil chance in Scotland was

nothing so evil as was first thought; not above three score slain, and the number which is taken, excepting Mr. Bowes and Mr. Palmer, containeth no man of name or opinion.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

82 *Differences between the French and the Scots.*

CH. 25. other forts which the English held, could be a question only of time. Accident, however, gave the Protector an unexpected opportunity, had he been able to avail himself of it.

A.D. 1548.
September.

The French
and the
Scots are on
bad terms.

The English cruisers had threatened the French supplies. D'Essy was obliged to forage as he could, and the army lying inactive about Edinburgh, became soon on indifferent terms with the people.

October 8.
A fray
breaks out
in the
streets.

One morning, at the beginning of October, a Scot was carrying a gun along a street, when a French soldier met him and claimed it. A scuffle began, parties formed, swords were drawn, and shots fired. The provost and the town-guard coming to the spot, took the side of their countrymen; they arrested the soldiers, and were carrying them to the Tolbooth, when a cry rose for a rescue. Their comrades hurried up; the provost, and half a dozen gentlemen were presently killed, and the uproar spreading, an English prisoner in Edinburgh who witnessed the scene, said, 'that the French would no sooner espy a Scot, man, woman, or child, come out of doors, or put their heads out of window, but straightway was marked by an harquebus.*' The Regent called on d'Essy

To cure the
bad effects
of which
the French
general at-
tempts to
surprise
Hadding-
ton.

for explanations, and d'Essy, unable to explain, answered with high words. At last he withdrew the troops beyond the gates, summoned the Rhinegrave to a council, and determined, in order to obliterate the effects of so awkward a

* Thomas Fisher to the Duke of Somerset: *Original Letters*, edited by Sir H. ELLIS, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292. Compare the account in BUCHANAN.

business, to go the same evening with the whole army to Haddington, and carry it by a surprise.

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
October.

The city was no sooner cleared of the soldiers than the gates were shut behind them, 'and the townsmen, seeking for such French as were left, were he sick or whole, he was no sooner found but forthwith slain and cut in pieces;' 'when-ever one or two French were found apart, they were killed and thrust into holes.'* All night the murderous revenge continued; when, shortly before daybreak, a messenger came breathless to the gates, saying that d'Essy had taken Haddington, that a few English only survived, shut up in an isolated bulwark, who had offered to surrender if they might have their lives; but d'Essy had answered they should have no courtesy but death. The news put an end to the massacre; which, if the account was true, might produce unpleasant fruits. The Regent mounted his horse and rode to the scene of the supposed triumph. At Musselburgh the truth met him in a long file of carts, laden with dead or wounded men.

D'Essy, reaching Haddington at midnight, had surprised the garrison in their beds. The sentinels had but time to give the alarm before they were killed; the watch was driven in and some of the French entered with them, in the confusion, into the court of the castle. These, seizing the gates and keeping them open, the invaders

Finding the garrison in their beds, the French make their way into the court of the castle,

* Fisher to the Protector: *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292.

CH. 25. behind were thronging after them in force, when
 A.D. 1548. a cannon, loaded with grapeshot, was fired by an
 unknown hand into the thick of the crowd, and
 destroyed a hundred men upon the spot. The
 check gave the English time to collect. While the
 attacking party were still reeling under the effect
 of the discharge, they poured down upon them
 through a postern. The gun was again charged
 and fired; the gates were closed, and all who
 remained inside were cut down or killed in jump-
 ing from the battlements. Furious at his failure,
 d'Essy again led up his troops to the assault; a
 kinsman of the Rhinegrave had been left in the
 castle-court, and a party of Germans fought their
 way in and carried him off; but the whole gar-
 rison were by this time under arms. Three
 times the French came up to be driven back with
 desperate loss; and at last, with bitter reluctance,
 the leader gave the signal to fall back. His
 enterprise had led to nothing but discomfiture.
 With the morning he learnt, and was compelled
 to bear, the murders at Edinburgh, and to see the
 Scots as much pleased at his defeat as the English
 themselves. For some days it was expected that
 the French would be attacked and destroyed in
 their camp,* and they 'were in such desperation
 that they would rather adventure to be killed by
 Englishmen than by Scots.†

But the
 English
 rally and
 drive them
 out,

And the as-
 sault fails.

* The Scots rejoiceth as much
 at the overthrow as we do, and
 it is spoken in Edinburgh that
 the Hamiltons will, for their
 bloodshedding, seek no other
 amends at the hands of the

French but to be revenged with
 the sword.—Fisher to the Pro-
 tector: ELLIS; *Original Letters*,
 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292.

† Ibid.

At such a moment either skilful diplomacy or CH. 25.
prompt action might possibly have restored the A.D. 1548.
influence of England; although, the queen being
in France, it was not easy to say for what object
the Protector was now contending. The occasion,
however, was allowed to pass; and the breach The French
commander
is recalled,
and a good
feeling with
the Scots
restored.
between the Scots and their allies was soon
healed by the recal of d'Essy, the arrival of
reinforcements, and a series of small successes,
in which both Scots and French bore their share,
and which restored confidence and good humour.
The English attempted a landing in Fife, where
Lord James Stuart beat them to their ships, The Eng-
lish are re-
pulsed at
Fife, and
lose the
islands in
the Forth.
with a loss of six hundred men; the French,
with the help of their galleys, took the islands
in the Forth which Somerset had fortified, and
destroyed several hundred more. A series of
small fortresses in Teviotdale and the Marches—
Roxburgh, Hume Castle, Fast Castle, and They lose
their forts
in Teviot-
dale.
Broughty Craig, fell one after the other in the
winter; and by the spring of 1549 Haddington
remained the sole visible result to the Protec-
tor of all his costly efforts, while the object for
which the war had been undertaken was utterly
lost.

Meanwhile, the quarrel with France had ex-
tended. An irregular cannonade was kept up be-
tween the French forts and the new English
works at Boulogne. The Boulonnaise had been
invaded; there had been skirmishes and loss of
life. Villegaignon's galleys, after landing Mary
Stuart at Brest, had roamed about the Channel,

CH. 25. preying upon English merchant-ships;* and while peace still continued in name, the French court professed an insolent confidence that the Protector durst not resent their violation of it. He shrunk, it was true, from declaring war; but England as well as France could play at the game of marauding hostility. Convoys of provisions were passing continually between Brest and Leith, and a French fishing-fleet from Iceland and Newfoundland was looked for in the fall of the year. The 'Adventurers of the West,' the sea-going inhabitants of the ports of Devonshire and Cornwall, were informed that the Channel was much troubled with pirates, and that they would serve their country by clearing the seas of them. Private hints were added, that they might construe their instructions liberally; but that whatever French prizes were brought in should be kept for a time undisposed of, till it was ascertained whether the Court of Paris 'would redress the harms done on their side.'†

A. D. 1548.
August.
The French
galleys
cruise in the
Channel,
and meddle
with Eng-
lish mer-
chantmen.

The Adven-
turers of
the West
are allowed
to re-
taliate,

The Admiralty order came out on the 11th of August. Sir Richard Greenfield, Sir William Denys, Sir Hugh Trevanion, and Sir William Godolphin were commissioned to superintend the Adventurers' proceedings; and on the 7th September, John Greenfield, Sir Richard's son or brother, reported progress from Foy. He had himself been upon a cruise, and had waylaid,

Sept. 7.
And make
progress.

* The Protector to the Admiral: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

† Privy Council to the Admiral: *Ibid.*

taken, sunk, or driven on shore an indefinite number of French trading-vessels; he had brought ten prizes into Foy and Plymouth; he had obtained information of three hundred sail going to Bordeaux for wine for the army in Scotland; and 'the western men,' he said, 'were so expert' in their business, 'that he did not doubt they would give a good account of the whole of them.' About the same time sixteen transports returning from Scotland were attacked by two English ships at the mouth of a French harbour, and four were taken and carried off.*

England had thus drifted into the realities of war with France. It would not be through the skill of her ruler if war did not follow with the Empire also, if the Pope did not succeed at last in launching against her the united force of the Catholic powers. Happily, the disintegrating elements were strong enough at that time, as before and after, to prevent a combination which, if accomplished, would have changed the fortunes of the Reformation.

After the fatal battle of Muhlberg, the Landgrave of Hesse had relinquished a contest which for the time was hopeless; and, trusting to the promises of the Emperor and the guarantees of Duke Maurice, that his personal liberty should not be taken from him, presented himself in the Imperial camp. Charles condescending, if his

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
September.

A.D. 1547.
The Landgrave of Hesse surrenders to the Emperor.

* Lord Russell to the Admiral: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

CH. 25. story were true, to an ignoble evasion,* com-
 A.D. 1547. manded his arrest; the two princes who had so
 July. long defied him were in his power, and, trium-
 phant at last, he summoned the Diet to meet at
 Augsburg. Carrying his prisoners with him, he
 arrived there himself in July, and the long-
 exiled priests followed in flights in the rear of
 his armies. The cathedral was forthwith purified
 of heresy by a second consecration, and bishops
 preached there day after day on the long-insulted
 mysteries of the faith.

Sept. 1. The Diet, densely attended, opened on the 1st
 of September. Charles briefly reminded the as-
 sembly of his long efforts to compose the quarrels
 of Germany peaceably; he had been driven at
 last, he said, to another remedy, and God had
 given him success. Religion had been the cause
 of the turmoil. A council, as they had them-
 selves told him again and again, was the only
 instrument by which it could be composed. The
 bishops of the Catholic States, therefore, would
 petition the Pope to send back the fugitives to
 Trent; and on the Pope's compliance, the Lutheran
 princes—Duke Maurice, the Elector Palatine,
 and the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the rest,
 should promise obedience to the decisions of that
 council, whatever they might be. Meanwhile, he
 would reorganize the Imperial chamber; he would
 hear, and determine questions of confiscated

* The play upon the words *einig* and *ewig*. The Emperor said he had promised that the Landgrave should not be imprisoned for life—not that he should not be imprisoned at all.

Church property in person; and while the Diet proceeded, he would permit no parties or separate conferences.

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.
September.

He was master of the situation, and for the time could insist on compliance; Duke Maurice, after an ineffectual attempt to make conditions, agreed to submit; and the petition to the Holy See was drawn, probably by the Emperor himself, and despatched. The bishops were made to say that they had long desired that a general council should meet in Germany; after years of delay a place had at last been selected, which virtually was more Italian than German. While the war continued they could not safely repair thither, and now, when peace was re-established, the council had been broken up. They entreated that it might assemble again. If his Holiness consented, he would give peace to Europe and to the Church; if he refused, they would not answer for the consequences.*

The German bishops petition the Pope to restore the Council of Trent.

The language was impatient and almost menacing. Never since his accession had Paul III. yielded to entreaty, and the council, the action of which at Trent might be uncertain, was in his own dominions safe, convenient, and manageable. It was a view of things which the French, during the summer, had studiously humoured, and a difficulty was evidently looked for. Moreover, Paul was not only the chief prelate of Catholic Christendom, but he had children in a more earthly sense for whom he had

The French encourage the Pope to resist.

CH. 25. the affection of an earthly father. He had dis-
 membered the States of the Church for a favourite
 child, whom he had invested with the Duchies of
 Parma and Piacenza. Louis Farnese had distin-
 guished his administration by atrocities unusual
 even in an Italian despot, and had just been
 murdered by his subjects. The conspirators had
 placed themselves under the protection of the
 Emperor; and Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who
 was believed to have been in the secret of the
 assassination, sent troops to Piacenza, and pre-
 vented the indignant Pope from revenging his
 son's death.

A. D. 1547.
 Sept. 10.
 The Pope's
 son, Louis
 Farnese, of
 Parma, is
 murdered.

October.
 Gonzaga
 occupies
 Piacenza
 against the
 Pope.

Dec. 9. On the 9th of December it was presented in the
 Consistory; and Mendoza, Charles's ambassador,
 declared that he was instructed, if the demand
 was refused, to record his protest against the
 session at Bologna as illegal. The same day (it
 cannot be considered an accident) the Archbishop
 of Rheims arrived from Paris. Henry II., who
 had long seen in the Italian question the germs
 of a fresh war, resented the occupation of
 Piacenza as deeply as the Pope. He, too,
 dreaded the restoration of the council of Trent.
 Charles, master of Germany, with the great
 council of Christendom sitting within his do-
 minions, and under his virtual sovereignty, would
 become too strong for him to cope with.* The
 French prelate arrived opportunely to present

The pe-
 tition of the
 German
 clergy is
 presented
 at Rome.

* PALLAVICINO.

the homage of France at the papal throne. His sovereign, the archbishop said, would have come in person to rest his eyes on the august countenance of the Holy Father, had not his presence been required at home; but he was sent to offer in his master's name the whole power of France against all who secretly or openly conspired against the independence of the Papacy.

Thus supported, Paul determined to defy the Emperor. He told Mendoza that he would submit the petition to the fathers at Bologna, who would be in no haste to condemn their own actions. Cardinal del Monte, the legate and president, replied for them that the removal from Trent had been the act of a majority, and was therefore legal. If they were to return, their Spanish brethren, who had remained behind, must first submissively rejoin them; they must have a promise further that no secular power should interfere with their freedom of debate; that the Lutherans should submit without reserve; and, finally, that they should be at liberty to leave Trent again, should it seem at any time desirable to them.

The unpromising reply was transmitted to Charles, and once more he despatched a protest both to Bologna and to Rome. He had done his best for the Catholic religion, he said, and the prelates of the council had done their worst. The Germans had promised to acknowledge them if they sate anywhere but in Italy. In the papal dominions their assembly was an illusion and a pretence. For the last time he insisted

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.
December.

Dec. 27.
It is referred to the fathers at Bologna,

Who make impossible conditions.

1548.
January.
Charles V. makes a last effort to move the Pope.

CH. 25. that they should return to Trent, or on them
 A.D. 1548. would rest the guilt of the misfortunes which
 January. they were dragging down upon Christendom.
 The fathers replied, like themselves, that they
 were met in the name of the Holy Ghost, that
 the Emperor was the son of the Church, not the
 master of it, and that secular magistrates must
 not dictate to the ministers of Christ. The Pope,
 equally determined, shielded himself behind
 equivocation, and affected to hold out hopes
 of arrangement; but his insincerity was trans-
 parent;* and Charles, exasperated and des-
 perate, determined to assume for a time the
 power which Henry VIII. had claimed for the
 sovereign authority in every state and country.
 A free council might ultimately meet. Mean-
 while, and until that happy consummation, a
 scheme of doctrine, known as the Interim, was
 composed and submitted to representatives of the
 different parties, and was finally, on the 15th of
 May 15. laid before the Diet.

The Pope
equivocates,

And
Charles
offers to
Germany
the 'In-
terim.'

The Catholic faith was asserted, but in 'ambiguous formularies,' which would leave the conscience free while they seemed to bind it.† On points where evasion was impossible, such

* The wiser Catholics thought that Paul was playing a dangerous game. The papacy had said one thing and meant another, at an earlier stage of the Reformation, not to their advantage. 'Hujusmodi lac,' says Pallavicino, 'a fallaci spe propinatum quandoque acrius acescit in sto-

macho magnorum vivorum ubi deludantur, perinde ac fortassis evenerat in divortio Regis Britannici.' — *Historia Concilii Tridentini*.

† Formulæ ambiguis quas liceret utrique partium pro re sua interpretari.—PALLAVICINO.

as the restitution of Church property, the marriage of the clergy, and communion in both kinds at the eucharist, the first of these critical questions was untouched; in the two other points the Protestant innovations were condemned in words and were tolerated in fact.

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
May.

At Rome the intrusion of the secular power upon sacred ground appeared but as the confirmation of the dread which the extreme Catholics had long affected to feel—that Charles would at last imitate the usurpations of his uncle of England. A copy of the Interim was sent to the Pope for approval. The Pope replied by requiring the instant restitution of the abbey lands, the withholding of the cup from the laity, and the separation of the clergy from their concubines.* In Germany the scheme was scarcely received more favourably. Bucer, whose opinion was privately asked, gave his unequivocal disapproval, and accepted an invitation to England, whither Peter Martyr had gone before him. Duke Maurice, with the majority of the Protestant princes, acquiesced for themselves, but with tacit or avowed reluctance. When they called upon their subjects to follow their example, it was with hesitating lips and a dislike or contempt which they hardly cared to conceal.†

The Court of Rome is agitated.

The Interim is alike unpalatable to Catholic and Protestant.

* Dicit vix potest quantum animorum motum excitaverit libelli Interim promulgatio. Etenim priori aspectu creditum plerumque est arrogatam sibi fuisse a Cæsare auctoritatem in rebus fidei.—PALLAVICINO.
† The Bishop of Westminster and Sir Philip Hoby, who were at Augsburg during the Diet,

CH. 25. The imprisoned Duke of Saxony possessed the influence which would enable Charles to carry his point, and freedom, favour, and power were held out to him through Granvelle, as the reward of compliance. John Frederick answered, with a noble simplicity, that 'he was in the Emperor's power; his Majesty might do with him, and use his carcase as it liked him, he neither could nor would resist his pleasure therein; but he humbly besought his Majesty that he would not press him to grant this thing, which, he said, being against the word and law of God, he would not agree unto though he were to die for it.'*

A.D. 1548.
May.

The Emperor attempts to move John Frederick without effect.

reported the general feeling with much distinctness. In a letter dated the 22nd of May the Bishop wrote:—

'As the Emperor is earnestly bent to have the Interim kept, so I hear divers places and cities be not content therewith. Duke Maurice says that, for his own person, he is content to keep it; but because he has so often promised his subjects to suffer them to observe their religion that they now be in, he cannot compel them to the observance of the Interim, so he remaineth perplexed.' Albert of Brandenburg, he added, had refused.—*MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

On the 9th of July Sir Philip Hoby wrote:—

'The Duke of Wirtemberg, having received the Interim, with commandment to see it take place and be observed

throughout his country, it is reported that he did not make any countenance to disobey the Emperor's will herein, but received his commission very reverently. Shortly, after suffering the Interim to go about, and the Emperor's Commissioners appointed for that purpose to set it forth as it liked them, suddenly, without any mention made of the Interim, or, as though he thought nothing thereof, as I hear say he is a man somewhat merry conceited when he list, he caused proclamation to be made in his country, that each person for every time they heard mass should pay unto him eight ducats of gold. He forbade not the mass to be said, but would have the hearers pay him this tribute.'—Hoby to the Protector: *Cotton. MSS. Titus*, B. 2.

* *Ibid.*

The Free Towns were less obedient than the princes. Magdeburg sent an open refusal; Constance refused almost as peremptorily; Strasburg sent a protest: and when Granvelle threatened, the Strasburg deputies said that a man's body might be burnt, but a burnt body was better than a damned soul.

In a worldly sense the Protestants would have been more prudent had they taken the Emperor at his word. The Interim was in theory as liberal as the scheme of belief as yet established in England. In practice it was even more liberal, for the marriage of the clergy, though censured, was not forbidden. In formulas of doctrine, as in all mechanical contrivances, looseness of construction becomes looser in the use; and a considerable liberty of opinion might have established itself under the shelter of the Interim. But the Germans, more spiritual than the English, were less tolerant of compromise. They had parted with the substance of Romanism, they would not be haunted with the shadow of it. In the midst of the agitation the Diet was dissolved. The army at least would be obedient; and if the people would not accept what was offered them in a lax spirit, they should be compelled to accept it in a harsh one.

Wherever Charles's hand could reach, diocesan synods were re-established. The ecclesiastical courts were revived, and the schools were placed exclusively under the priests. The Lutheran clergy were advised to send their wives from them, or they might suffer for it; and the supreme

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
July.

The Emperor will compel submission.

He re-establishes Catholic discipline, and punishes John Frederick.

CH. 25. courts of the Empire were reorganized as the Catholics desired. John Frederick was punished for his refusal with petty persecution;* and as a reply to the insolence of Constance, three thousand Spanish troops sprang suddenly upon the town. They were driven back after a desperate conflict. But Constance was placed under the ban of the Empire, and compelled at last to yield, and Charles prepared to force his pleasure on Strasburg and Magdeburg. He believed himself irresistible, and those who wished best to the opposition had faint hopes that it would succeed. But for the present, at all events, his hands were full. With Germany to bend or to break, with Italy unsettled, the Pope impracticable, and France again menacing a European war, he had no

A.D. 1548.
August 5.
Spanish
troops at-
tempt to
seize Con-
stance.

* 'The Emperor was much moved with his answer. Three hundred Spaniards more than the accustomed band were commanded towards the duke's lodging. They went to the duke, and showed him the Emperor's pleasure was, seeing he so obstinately refused to grant his requests, that the order which was first prescribed at his taking should now be straightly observed, and no more gentleness and courtesy shewed unto him, seeing it could so little prevail. And forthwith they caused all the daggs and other weapons that the duke's servants had then in the house to be sought out and sent away; and whereas the duke had then about him above seventy servants, they sent them all away

saving twenty-seven. Granvelle also sent from him his preacher, whom he threatened with fire if he hasted not forth of the country. His cooks and other officers were also commanded, upon pain of burning, they should not prepare or dress for him any meat upon Fridays, Saturdays, or other fasting days commanded by the Roman Church. In this straightness remaineth the duke now, wherewith he seemeth to be so little moved as there can be none alteration perceived in him, either by word or countenance; but is even now as merry and content to the outer shew as he was at any time of his most prosperity.'—Hoby to the Protector: *Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. 2.*

leisure to interfere with England. On this side at least, the Protector had nothing to fear; and the quarrel with France and the war with Scotland being not enough to occupy him, he could proceed with the Reformation of religion.

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
The Emperor is too busy to meddle with England.

An act of parliament had forbade irreverent speaking of the sacrament. The sacrament, however, was the real point on which the minds of men were working most passionately; and as the government had resolved upon permitting or introducing an innovation upon the Catholic doctrine, it was desirable to familiarize the country with the prospect of change. A general order had prohibited all preaching except under a licence from the government; and a set of noisy declaimers, *avant couriers*, as they called themselves, of the crown, first to cry for reform while reform was in the ascendant, first to fly or apostatize in time of danger, made the circuit of the towns and parishes, exempted from the operation of the statute. The sacrament of the altar was called the sacrament of the halter. Hocus pocus, the modern conjuror's catchword, was the jesting corruption of the '*hoc est corpus*' in the canon of the mass. With pleasantry of this kind, acting as an additional stimulant on the visitation, the preachers provoked a rising in Cornwall in the summer of 1548, and a royal commissioner, named William Body, was murdered in a church. But a priest, who had been concerned in it, was hanged and quartered in Smithfield;* twenty-eight other persons were put

Licensed preachers make circuits in England, declaiming upon the sacrament.

A government commissioner is murdered in Cornwall.

* Stow.

CH. 25. to death in different parts of the country;* and the riot was appeased. The malcontents were chiefly among the people. Spoliation and reformation were going hand in hand; the nobles and gentlemen were well contented for the time to overthrow, bind, and strip the haughty Church which had trampled on them for centuries; and they let pass, not without remonstrance, but without determined opposition, the outrages upon the creed which in the recoil of feeling would provoke so fearful a retribution.† Among the leading Protestant theologians Lutheranism was melting gradually away. Cranmer, of whose backwardness the letters of the ultra party,‡ during the first year of Edward's reign, contain abundant complaints, was yielding to the arguments of Ridley. Latimer, who cared comparatively little for doctrinal questions, whose conception of the Reformation was not so much an improvement of speculative theory, as a practical return to obe-

Protestant
opinion in
England
changes
from Lu-
theran to
Genevan.

A.D. 1548.
July 7.

* Stow says, 'other of the priests' society.' I conclude twenty-nine to have suffered in all, as I find a note among the *Cotton. MSS.* of a pardon sent by the council into Cornwall for all persons concerned in the death of Body excepting that number.—*Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. 2.*

† Sir Philip Hoby put into the mouth of the German Protestants the opinions of himself and of his order. 'Of our proceedings in England,' he says, 'are sundry discourses made here. The Protestants have good hope, and pray earnestly

that the King's Majesty, being warned by the late ruin of Germany, [which] happened by the bishops' continuance in their princely and lordly estates, will take order for the redress thereof in his dominions, and appoint unto the good bishops an honest and competent living sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their worldly possessions and dignities, thereby to avoid the vain glory that letteth them sincerely to do their office.'—*MS. Harleian, 523.*

‡ *Epistola TIGURINÆ, Anno 1547.*



dience and the fear of God, was more difficult to move than Cranmer; but he, too, was giving way. CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
An attempt was to be made in the next parliament for an effective and authoritative change.

Somerset himself meanwhile found an adviser in Calvin. The great Genevan, knowing much of religion and little of the English disposition, laid his views before the Protector in a noticeable letter, written in 1548. Calvin writes to the Protector.

‘As I understand, my Lord,’ wrote Calvin, ‘you have two kinds of mutineers against the king and the estates of the realm; the one are fantastical people, who under colour of the gospel would set all to confusion; the others are stubborn people in the superstition of the Antichrist of Rome. These all together do deserve to be well punished by the sword, seeing they do conspire against the king and against God, who had set him in the royal seat.’ He advises that Anabaptists and reactionaries should alike be put to death.

For the general organization of the Church, he recommended that a body of doctrines should be drawn up, which all prelates and curates should be sworn to follow—a catechism or common form of instruction to be taught to children; and to prevent eccentricities, ‘a certain form written’ to which the clergy should be ‘restrained’ in public prayer and in the administration of the sacraments. He recommends a body of articles, a catechism, and a form of prayer.

But these things would be ineffective without measures for ‘the reformation of the bastard Christendom of the Pope.’ And here the especial rock to be avoided was moderation. Of all things, entreated Calvin, let there be no moderation—it The Protector must avoid the dangerous rock of moderation.

1548

CH. 25. was the bane of genuine improvement. 'We see,'
 he continued (and here spoke the teacher of John
 Knox), 'we see how the seed of lies is fertile, and
 there needeth but one grain to fill the world.'
 'It will be said that we must tolerate our neigh-
 bour's weakness, that great changes are not easily
 to be borne. That were to be suffered in worldly
 affairs where it is lawful for the one to give place
 to the other, and to give over his right, thereby
 to redeem peace; but it is not like in the spiritual
 rule of Christ—there we have nothing to do but
 to obey God. We must hold by the maxim that
 the Reformation of his Church is a work of his
 hands; wherefore in this matter men must let
 themselves be governed by Him. In reforming
 his Church or in keeping it, He will proceed in a
 wonderful fashion unknown to men; wherefore to
 restrain to the measure of our understandings the
 Reformation which ought to be godly, and to
 subdue to the earth and the world that that is
 heavenly, is to no purpose.'

Toleration
 in matters
 of religion
 is not per-
 mitted.

Sins must
 be treated
 as crimes.

Lastly, the discipline of the law must be ex-
 tended from crimes against society to sin against
 God. 'Thefts, fightings, extortions, are sharply
 punished,' he said, 'because that men thereby are
 offended, and the meantime whoredoms, adulteries,
 and drunkenness are suffered as things lawful or
 of very little importance. That the honour of God
 be mindful unto you, punish the crime whereof
 men are not wont to make any great matter.'*

* Calvin to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. v.
 1548. The translation is, I think, in the handwriting of Cranmer.

The concluding exhortation was not likely to receive much attention from an English statesman, least of all from one who had little austerity about him, as the Duke of Somerset; but the rest of the letter indicated the course into which he had been already persuaded. It was essential to his success that, either by argument or intimidation, he should bring over to his side a majority of the bishops, and Gardiner was the first to be taken in hand. By a general pardon extended to all crimes except treason and felony, with which the last session of Parliament had concluded, the Bishop of Winchester had been released from the Fleet, and had returned to his diocese. Here he had been chiefly occupied in opposing the itinerant preachers; 'he did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing to warn the people to beware of those godly persons whom the king did send.* Their fanatical appeals were endangering the public peace, and in self-protection he had been obliged to arm his household.† The government themselves were compelled, in the course of the summer to silence 'the godly persons' as a nuisance too intolerable to be borne.‡ But the

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

The Protector will bring to obedience the Bishop of Winchester, who had opposed the preachers.

The government are compelled themselves to silence the preachers.

* *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. MS.

† The *Privy Council Record* says: 'He had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed.' The Protector, in a circular to the foreign ambassadors, inflames the charge against him into treason. 'To withstand such as he thought to have been sent from us, he

had caused his servants to be armed and harnessed.' But it is incredible that he contemplated an armed resistance to the government. He denied it himself emphatically.

‡ 'His Highness is advertized that certain of the said preachers so licensed, not regarding such good admonitions as hath been given unto them, hath abused

CH. 25. bishop's interference made an opportunity for again calling him to question. He was sent for to London in May, where being too unwell to ride, he was carried in a horse-litter. The Protector told him that his attitude was unsatisfactory; and when he protested that he had done nothing but what as a loyal subject he was entitled to do, he was required to state his opinions publicly in a sermon before the court, on the royal supremacy, on the suppression of the religious houses, the removal of chantries, candles, ashes, palms, holy bread, and beads, on auricular confession, processions, the use of common prayer in English, and the validity of changes made in the king's minority. He promised obedience in general terms. A few days after, William Cecil, the Protector's secretary,* waited

A.D. 1548.
May.

But Gardiner is to make his submission, or suffer for it.

He is required to preach a sermon on the points of controversy of the day.

the said authority of preaching, and behaved themselves irreverently and without good order in the said preachings, whereby much contention and disorder might arise and ensue in his Majesty's realm.' 'All manner of persons,' therefore, whoever they might be, were forbidden 'to preach in open audience in the pulpit or otherwise,' till further orders.—Proclamation for the Inhibition of Preachers, September 23, 1548: FULLER'S *Church History*.

* This being the first occasion on which I have had to mention Cecil, some account may be useful as to who and what he was. David Cecil, his grandfather, alderman of Stamford,

had a son Richard, who went to London, and found service at the court, becoming yeoman of the wardrobe to Henry VIII. Being a good servant, he grew in favour; he was made at last constable of Warwick Castle, and on the dissolution of the monasteries received a grant from the King of Stamford Priory and other property in Northamptonshire. The wife of this Richard was daughter and heiress of William Heckington, of Bourne, by whom he had three daughters—Margaret, married to Robert Carr, of Stamford; Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Wingfield, of Upton; Anne, married to Thomas White, of Nottingham—and one son, William, the statesman

on him with more specific instructions, and with a schedule of detailed opinions, which he was required to maintain. CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
June.

To this Gardiner answered promptly, that he would not 'maintain another man's device.' 'It was a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching his honour and conscience.' The duke then sent for him, and produced a lawyer's opinion, showing 'what a king might lawfully command a bishop to do,' and he was himself, he said, in the place of a king. Gardiner answered that he knew the law of England: 'no law could enjoin him to say as his opinion what was not his opinion;' and, although the duke told him 'he The Protector sends him a list of opinions, which he is to maintain.

He refuses to bind himself.

known to history, born on the 13th of September, 1520. William Cecil was at school first at Grantham, afterwards at Stamford; from whence, at the age of fifteen, he went to St. John's at Cambridge, where his academic course—Greek lectures, sophistry lectures, &c.—was successfully accomplished, and where he made the acquaintance of Sir John Cheke, whose sister Mary he married. At Cambridge he was present at the terrible and never-to-be-forgotten battle between Cheke and Gardiner on the pronunciation of the Greek epsilon, which convulsed the academic world; and thence, in 1541, he removed to Gray's Inn, and became a law student. Mary Cheke dying, he married a second time, in 1545, Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddes Hall, eldest of five sisters. Anne, the

second of whom, became the wife of Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Francis; Katherine, the third, married Sir Henry Killebrew. Elizabeth, married, first, Sir Thomas Hoby, and afterwards Lord Russell. The youngest, less distinguished in her posterity, married a Sir Ralph Rowlet.

William Cecil, introduced at court by his father, was patronized by Henry, who gave him the reversion of a place in the Common Pleas; and at Henry's death, at the age of twenty-seven, he became secretary of the Duke of Somerset, whom he attended to Musselburgh, where the name of Cecil was nearly brought to an abrupt conclusion by a Scotch cannon-ball. In this capacity of private secretary to the Protector we see him now, being twenty-eight years old.

CH. 25. should do that or worse,' he refused distinctly to bind himself to the schedule, and retired, saying merely that he trusted his sermon would be satisfactory. It was to be delivered on the 29th of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. On the 27th Cecil came to him again, with the duke's 'advice,' that he should not speak of the sacrament. He asked for something more definite. Cecil said he was not to speak of transubstantiation. 'You do not know what transubstantiation is,' he answered; 'the mass, as I understand it, is the foundation of religion. The ancient faith in this matter is still the law of the land, and I shall speak what I think, if I am to be hanged when I leave the pulpit.' I wish the Protector would leave religion to the clergy, and cease to meddle with it.'

June 28.
Somerset
prohibits
him from
speaking
on the
sacrament.

The reply to this was a letter the next day from Somerset, interdicting Gardiner positively from touching the subject. It was his duty, the Protector considered, 'to bring the people from ignorance to knowledge; and where there was a consent among the bishops and learned men in a truth,' he declared that 'he would not suffer the Bishop of Winchester, or a few others, to dissuade the rest.'*

* The authorities for the treatment of Gardiner are a long series of letters and papers, printed in the latest edition of FOXE's *Martyrs*, vol. vi. The Protector's concluding letter of the 28th of June is printed also in BURNET's *Collectanea*. I must allow myself to add one more extract from Gardiner's

general letters of protest. The real feeling among the laity he saw plainly, was not against the doctrines of the Church, but against the prelates and against ecclesiastical domination. Changes in doctrine, though nominally by the king's authority, would assuredly, when the king came of age, be called in

So the question stood between them when the sermon was delivered. It is extant; and unless by tone and gesture the preacher contrived to throw a meaning into it beyond the seeming intention of the words, it is hard to imagine a composition less calculated to give offence. It was such a sermon as a moderate High Church English divine might preach at the present day, with applause even from evangelicals. The suppression of the chanting, communion in both kinds, the abolition of images, the royal supremacy, were severally touched and approved. The sacrament was spoken of, but only as the late act of parliament spoke of it, as a mystery, not to be spoken of with open irreverence. As a matter of opinion, the preacher said, that he

CH. 25.

A. D. 1548.
June.
The Bishop
disobeys,
but
preaches a
moderate
sermon,

question again, and if the bishops were weak enough to encourage such changes, it would only be made fresh matter of accusation against them.

'When our Sovereign Lord cometh to his perfect age,' said Gardiner, 'God will reveal what shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion; and if anything be done in the meantime, having so just a cause, he might use a marvellous speech.'

'The bishops, it may then be said, when they had our Sovereign Lord in minority, fashioned the matter as they listed; and then some young man that would have a piece of the bishops' lands shall say—The beastly bishops have always done so, and when they can no longer maintain their pleasures

of rule and superiority, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here, spend that they have, eat you and drink you what they list, with *edamus et bibamus cras moriemur*. If we allege for our defence 'the strength of God's truth' and 'the plainness of Scripture,' with 'the word of the Lord,' and many gay terms, the King's Majesty will not be abused with such a vain answer, and this is a politic consideration. The doings in this realm hitherto have never done the Bishop of Rome so much displeasure as the alteration in religion during the King's Majesty's minority shall serve for his purpose.'—Gardiner to the Protector: Foxe, vol. vi.

CH. 25. 'misliked that priests who had vowed chastity should marry and openly avow it,' but in this he said nothing more than a subsequent act of parliament said, by which the marriages of priests were legalized.

A.D. 1548.
June.

Which is considered seditious, and the bishop is sent to the Tower.

It required some ingenuity to construe such a sermon into sedition; but Gardiner was inconveniently able; it was desirable to get rid of him; and having been himself a persecutor, he was held fair game. The day following, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Anthony Wingfield waited upon him by Somerset's order at his house in Southwark. 'My Lord,' said Sadler, 'ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself;' Wingfield touched him on the shoulder, and told him that he must come to the Tower; and thither he was at once taken, to remain a prisoner till Edward was in his grave.*

Thus delivered from Gardiner, the Reformers could proceed with the preparation of their measures for the meeting of parliament. The

* It was not exclusively Somerset's work. He had made himself Protector, and as first in the State, too, he played the first part in the transaction; but others were pressing him on, among whom it is not easy to distribute the responsibility.

On the 14th of June Lord Warwick (Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland), in a letter to Cecil, says—

'Being desirous to hear whether my Lord hath proceeded with the arrogant bishop according to his deservings or not, is

the chief occasion of my writing to you at this time. I did hear that his day to be before my Lord's Grace and the council was appointed at Easter-day; but if it had been so, I suppose it would have been more spoken of; but I rather fear that his accustomed wiliness, with the persuasions of some of his dear friends and assured brethren, shall be the cause that the fox shall yet again deceive the lion.' —*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office, vol. iv.

Protector meanwhile, as the counterpart of his CH. 25.
zeal for the truth, took occasion in another A.D. 1548.
direction to insult what he considered super- July.
stition. His Scotch victory had been rewarded The Protector collects property,
with fresh grants of lands. The extent of
church property, estates, prebends, promotions,
which he had annexed, in one form or other,
cannot safely be conjectured;* but his fortune
being princely, he began to build a palace for
himself where the modern Somerset House now
stands, and retains his name. He pulled down And pulls down churches, and builds a palace.
a parish church to make room for it; and to
provide materials he blew up with gunpowder a
new and exceedingly beautiful chapel, lately
built by the last Prior of the Knights of St.
John. Part of St. Paul's churchyard was dese-
crated at the same time. 'The charnel-house
and the chapel' were turned into dwelling-houses
and shops, and the tombs and monuments were
pulled down, and the bones buried in the fields.†

The work, however, which parliament would
have to undertake, on its assembling, would not
be exclusively religious. It has been mentioned The dissolution of feudalism and the social revolution.
that parallel to the religious Reformation, social
changes of vast importance were silently keeping
pace with it. In the break up of feudal ideas,

* I have seen it stated in some loose schedule among the *State Papers*, to which I have no reference, at two thousand pounds a year; but no official account, so far as I can make out, was ever completed. Part the Duke was obliged to surrender in

the following year. But his remaining fortune enabled him to keep a retinue of two hundred servants.

† Stow's *Annals*; Stow's *Survey of London*; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*.

CH. 25. the relations of landowners to their property and
 their tenants were passing through a revolution;
 A.D. 1548. and between the gentlemen and the small farmers
 July. and yeomen and labourers were large differences
 of opinion as to their respective rights. The
 high price of wool and the comparative cheap-
 ness of sheep farming, continued to tempt the
 landlords to throw their plough lands into grass,
 to amalgamate farms, and turn the people who
 were thrown out of employment adrift to shift
 for themselves. The commons at the same time
 were being largely enclosed, forests turned into
 parks, and public pastures hedged round and ap-
 propriated. Under the late reign these ten-
 dencies had with great difficulty been held par-
 tially in check; but on the death of Henry they
 acquired new force and activity. The enclosing,
 especially, was carried forward with a disregard
 of all rights and interests, except those of the
 proprietors.

The amal-
 gamation
 of farms
 throws the
 people out
 of employ-
 ment.

The
 enclosures
 of the
 common
 lands de-
 prive
 them of
 other
 means of
 supporting
 themselves.

Periods of revolution bring out and develop extraordinary characters; they produce saints and heroes, and they produce also fanatics, and fools, and villains; but they are unfavourable to the action of average conscientious men, and to the application of the plain principles of right and wrong to every-day life. Common men at such times see all things changing round them—institutions falling to ruin, religious truth no longer an awful and undisputed reality, but an opinion shifting from hour to hour; and they are apt to think that, after all, interest is the best object for which to live, and that in the general scramble those are the wisest

who best take care of themselves. Thus, from arbitrary selfishness on one side, and discontent rapidly growing on the other, the condition of the country districts in England was becoming critical. The yeomen, driven from their holdings, were unable to find employment elsewhere. The loss of the common lands took from many of the poor their best means of subsistence; while corn was rising to famine prices from the diminished breadth of land under the plough, and with corn, all other articles of daily consumption. Unhappily, two causes were operating to produce the rise of prices, and the people and many educated persons believed that the landlords were responsible, not only for half the blame, but for the whole of it.

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.

The price of food rises at the same time, and distress is general.

Instead of restoring the silver currency, the Protector, as has been seen, had yielded to the temptation to raise supplies from the same source for the Scottish wars; and from the mints at York, Southwark, Canterbury, and the Tower, fresh and fresh streams of base money had been poured into circulation. The sums for which the government were responsible formed but a fraction of the mischief. Sir William Sharrington first of all, controller of the mint at Bristol, who had been directed, when the other mints were busy, to keep his own inactive, made an opportunity of the prohibition. The inhabitants of the Somersetshire villages made away surreptitiously with their church plate. Sharrington became the general purchaser, and threw it upon the country in testons, or bad shillings, in which four ounces of pure metal were mixed with eight of alloy.

The currency continues to be debased by the government,

And private persons follow the example.

CH. 25. The profit he kept to himself, and his accounts he falsified. How much bad money he had coined he could not tell, but he admitted to have gained at least four thousand pounds.* The possession of a mint made Sharington the first in the field, but naturally in a little while the entire currency was infected. The pure coin was bought up, and coining establishments were set at work in France and Flanders and in remote corners of Europe. Bad and good money could not co-exist together, and the good disappeared. The Protector was conscious at last of the nature of what was going forward. In the spring of 1548, a proclamation was issued that the teston should be current only till the following December, and that up to that time it would be received at the mints and paid for at its nominal value. But this only increased the speed of the coiners, and the magnitude of the evil was already too much for a treasury exhausted by war. Meantime the money theorists, three centuries before their time, distracted him with their tempting speculations. 'Why should money cause the dearth?' men said. 'Why should it not be taken as it is proclaimed?' 'What if it were copper? what if it were lead? what if it were leather? Is it not all one, seeing it is for none other use but exchange?'† 'If money was plenty, all things would

The bad money drives out the good,

And persons are found to say that inherent value is not necessary to a currency.

* Sharington's Examinations and Confessions: printed in the first volume of the *Burleigh Papers*.

† Sir James Crofts to the Privy Council: *Irish MSS.* Ed-

ward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office. Crofts felt the fallacy, and laboured with such light as he possessed to see through it. 'Experience,' he said, 'teacheth the contrary. Though it be

be plenty; the greater abundance of money, the greater the abundance of everything. Three parts of the realm out of four were the better for the multiplication.*

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.

Among the causes of the general distress, the facility with which Somerset allowed himself to be persuaded against his better judgment by arguments such as these, must hold a considerable place; yet, after all deductions, it remains certain that the absorption of the small farms, the enclosure system, and the increase of grazing farms had assumed proportions mischievous and dangerous. Leases as they fell in could not obtain renewal; the copyholder whose farm had been held by his forefathers so long that custom seemed to have made it his own, found his fines or his rent quadrupled, or himself without alternative ex-

The state of the money a partial cause of the high prices,

But the alteration of the farming system contributed,

alleged that moneys be but as we esteem them, it followeth not therefore that we should esteem anything otherwise than reason would we did esteem it; for if we would use lead to make armour or edge tools, our labour was in vain. If we should use iron to make our money, it would not serve for that purpose, but would rust, canker, break, and be filthy, where silver and gold metals, more precious and of more sovereign virtues, are clean in handling, fair in sight, not noisome in savour, most durable against fire, water, air, and earth, and therefore most meetest to make treasure thereof.'

* See a remarkable series of papers by William Thomas,

clerk of the council to Edward VI. *Cotton. MSS. Vespasian*, D. 18, some of which have been printed in the fourth volume of STRYPE's *Memorials*. Thomas, who had defended the first depreciation of Henry VIII. as long as the coin was not alloyed below the Continental level, was now urgent for a reformation. He disdained the 'frivole reasons' of the theorists, and declared that, in spite of the present apparent gain, the revenue and the rents of the crown estate must be received in the recognised currency, and the crown itself would be among the heaviest sufferers, 'unless his Majesty purchase land withal.'

CH. 25. pelled. The act against the pulling down farm-
 A.D. 1548. houses had been evaded by the repair of a room
 which might be occupied by a shepherd; a single
 furrow would be driven across a meadow of a
 hundred acres, to prove that it was still under the
 plough. The great cattle owners, to escape the
 sheep statutes, held their stock in the names of
 their sons or servants; the highways and the
 villages were covered in consequence with forlorn
 and outcast families, now reduced to beggary,
 who had been the occupiers of comfortable
 holdings; and thousands of dispossessed tenants
 made their way to London, clamouring in the
 midst of their starving children at the doors of
 the courts of law for redress which they could not
 obtain.*

And the
 streets and
 roads are
 covered
 with a
 starving
 population.

Between the popular preachers and the upper
 classes, who were indulging in these oppressions,
 there may have been for the most part a tolerable
 understanding. The Catholic priests in the

* For authorities, see BE-
 CON'S *Jewel of Joy*; Discourse
 of Bernard Gilpin, printed in
 STYFFE'S *Memorials*; Instruc-
 tions to the Commissioners of
 Enclosures, Ibid.; Address of
 Mr. Hales, Ibid.; and a Draft
 of an Act of Parliament presented
 to the House of Commons in
 1548, *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI.
 State Paper Office. The suffering
 of the innocent was a shield for the
 vagabond. Lever, the preacher,
 exclaims, 'Oh, merciful Lord,
 what a number of poor, feeble,
 blind, halt, lame, sickly—yea,
 with idle vagabonds and dis-

sembling caitiffs mixed with
 them—lie and creep begging in
 the miry streets of London and
 Westminster. It is the common
 custom with covetous landlords
 to let their housing so decay,
 that the farmers shall be fain for
 small regard or coin to give up
 their leases, that they, taking the
 ground into their own hands,
 may turn all into pasture. So
 now old fathers, poor widows,
 and young children lie begging
 in the streets.' — Sermon of
 Lever, printed in STYFFE'S *Me-
 morials*.

better days which were past, as the Protestant clergy in the better days which were coming, had said alike to rich and poor, by your actions you shall be judged. Keep the commandments, do justice and love mercy, or God will damn you. The unfortunate persons who for the sins of England were its present teachers, said, You cannot keep the commandments—that has been done for you; believe a certain speculative theory, and avoid the errors of Popery. It was a view of things convenient to men who were indulging in avarice and tyranny. The world at all times has liked nothing better than a religion which provides it with a substitute for obedience. But, as there would have been no Reformation at all, had Reformation meant no more than a change from a superstition of ceremonies to a superstition of words and opinions, so those who were sincere and upright among the Reformers—men like Cranmer, Latimer, Becon, Bradford, or Lever, to whom God and duty were of more importance than ‘schemes of salvation,’* whose opinions, indeed, followed with the stream, but who looked to life and practice for the fruit of opinions;—such men, I say, saw with sorrow and perplexity that increase of light had not brought with it increase

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.

* For which they were despised or lamented over by the advanced Liberals. ‘Cantuariensis,’ writes Traheron to Bullinger, ‘nescio quomodo ita se gerit ut vulgus nostrum non multum illi tribuat. Latimerus tametsi non liquide perspiciat æquior est Luthero vel etiam Bucero; altius enim quam cæteri introspicit, ut est ingenio plane divino: sed est cunctabundus et ægre renunciat opinionis semel imbibitæ.’—*Epistola FIGURINÆ*, p. 211.

CH. 25. of probity, that, as truth spread, charity and justice languished. 'In times past,' said Latimer, speaking from his own recollection, 'men were full of pity and compassion; but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock—I cannot tell what to call it—and then perish for hunger. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the scholars at the universities with exhibitions. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money towards the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar at Cambridge myself, I knew many that had relief of the rich men in London; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I enquire of it and hearken for it. Charity is waxen cold; none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor; now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.'* While the country was in the darkness of superstition, landowners and merchants were generous, the people prosperous, the necessities of life abundant and cheap. The light of the gospel had come in, and with it selfishness, oppression, and misery. That was the appearance which England presented to the eyes of Latimer, and it was not for him to sit still and bear it.

For eight years silent, he was now again about to enter on the fiery course which earned him the

A.D. 1548.
Latimer is
perplexed
with the
paradox,
that with
increase of
light has
come
increase of
wicked-
ness.

* Sermon of the Plough, pp. 64, 65: LATIMER'S *Sermons*.

name of the Apostle of Britain. He would CH. 25.
 meddle no more with bishoprics; his mission
 was to speak and to teach: and in the spring of A.D. 1548.
 1548 he commenced a course of sermons in March.
 London, on the crying evils of the age, at Paul's Latimer
 Cross. preaches at Paul's Cross.

'God,' he said, 'in this world had two swords
 —the temporal sword was in the hands of kings,
 the spiritual sword in the hands of ministers and
 preachers, who spoke as sitting in Moses' chair;
 therefore, if kings, statesmen, councillors, magis-
 trates, or any others did amiss, it was the
 preacher's business to correct them. Sketching
 first the duty of a king, how, sitting in that high
 place, he was bound to be an example of piety,
 chastity, justice, and self-restraint, the preacher
 then went on to 'the monstrous and portentous
 dearth made by man.'

'You landlords,' he said, 'you rent-raisers, I He ad-
 dresses the
 may say you step-lords, you have for your pos- landlords
 sessions too much. That that heretofore went for on the evil
 20 or 40 pounds by the year, which is an honest of their
 portion to be had gratis in one lordship of doings.
 another man's sweat and labour, now is let for
 50 or 100 pounds by the year; and thus is caused
 such dearth that poor men which live of their
 labour cannot with the sweat of their faces have a
 living. I tell you, my lords and masters, this is not
 for the king's honour. It is to the king's honour
 that his subjects be led in true religion. It is to
 the king's honour that the commonwealth be
 advanced, that the dearth be provided for, and
 the commodities of this realm so employed, as it

CH. 25. may be to the setting of his subjects at work and keeping them from idleness. If the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers, rent-raisers, are hinderers of the king's honour; for whereas have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog. My lords and masters, such proceedings do intend plainly to make of the yeomanry slavery.* The enhancing and rearing goes all to your private commodity and wealth. Ye had a single too much, and now ye have double too much; but let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stump, nothing is amended. This one thing I will tell you; from

A.D. 1548.
March.
They are
making the
English
yeomen
into slaves,

* According to Scory, Bishop of Rochester, the extent of land thrown out of cultivation was two acres in three. 'To trust,' he says, 'to have as much upon one acre as was wont to grow upon three—for I think that the tillage is not now above that rate, if it be so much—is but a vain expectation. A great number of the people are so pined and famished by reason of the great scarcity and dearth that the great sheep masters have brought into this noble realm, that they are become more like the slavery and peasantry of France than the ancient and godly yeomanry of England.'—Scory to the King: STYPE, vol. iv. p. 483.

The difficulty was not merely that the prices of food rose, and that wages remained stationary, for wages as little obeyed acts of

parliament as food obeyed it. 'Merchants have enhanced their ware,' says King Edward, in a remarkable State Paper as written by so young a boy; 'farmers have enhanced their corn and cattle, labourers their wages, artificers the price of their workmanship, &c.' The genuine English nobleman and gentleman, he said, were the only persons in the commonwealth who 'had not exercised the gain of living,' but were contented with their old rents. The mischief had been done by 'the farming gentlemen and clerking knights, the middle classes, the capitalists who had bought land and were making a trade of it.'—King Edward's Remains: *Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses.*

whom it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. If he bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school—as, indeed, the universities do wondrously decay already—and that they be not able to marry their daughters, to the avoiding of whoredom, I say ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm; for by the yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly.*

Bernard Gilpin,† of whom Fuller says half plaintively, that 'he hated vice more than error,'‡ followed before the court in the same strain.

'Look,' Gilpin said, 'how Lady Avarice had set on work altogether. Mighty men, gentlemen, and all rich men do rob and spoil the poor, to turn them from their livings and from their rights; and ever the weakest go to the wall; and being thus tormented and put from their rights at home, they come to London as to a place where justice should be had, and this they can have no more. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech. Their servants must have bribes, and they no small ones; all love bribes. But such as be dainty to hear the poor, let them take heed lest God make it strange to them when they shall pray. Whoso stoppeth his ear at the crying of the poor, he shall cry and not be heard. With what glad hearts and clear

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
March.
Being
therein
instigated
by the
devil.

Bernard
Gilpin
follows
Latimer.

The rich
are robbing
the poor,

Who seek
for justice
from their
rulers

* Sermon of the Plough: LATIMER'S *Sermons*.

† A nephew of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.

‡ FULLER'S *Worthies*, vol. iii. p. 307.

CH. 25. consciences might noblemen go to rest, when they
 A.D. 1548. had bestowed the day in hearing Christ complain
 in his members, and in redressing their wrongs.
 But, alas, what lack thereof! Poor people are
 driven to seek their right rights among the
 And from the law- yers, and cannot obtain it. lawyers, and, as the Prophet Joel saith, what
 the caterpillars left, the greedy locusts the lawyers
 devour; they laugh with the money which
 maketh others to weep. The poor are robbed on
 every side, and that of such as have authority;
 the robberies, extortions, and open oppressions of
 these covetous cormorants the gentlemen, have no
 end nor limits, no banks to keep in their vile-
 ness. For turning poor men out of their holds
 they take it for no offence, but say the land is
 their own, and they turn them out of their
 shrouds like mice. Thousands in England
 through such, beg now from door to door, who
 have kept honest houses. Lord, what oppres-
 sors, worse than Ahab, are in England, which sell
 the poor for a pair of shoes! If God should serve
 but three or four as he did Ahab, to make the
 dogs lap the blood of them, their wives, and pos-
 terity, I think it would cause a great number to
 beware of extortion.'

English gentlemen are worse than Ahab.

Could Gilpin and Latimer have looked three
 centuries onward, they would have seen the slow
 action of the spirit which they execrated, replacing
 the ancient agricultural system of England by
 another which extracted fourfold produce from the
 soil; scattering colonies over the wide earth which
 were expanding into new empires; covering the
 ocean with vessels thick as the sea-fowl; convert-

ing hamlets into huge towns, and into workshops of industry peopled with unimagined millions of men. Being but human, however, like others round them, they could see only what was passing under their eyes. They beheld the organization of centuries collapse, the tillers of the earth adrift without employment, villages and towns running to waste, landlords careless of all but themselves, turning their tenants out upon the world when there were no colonies for them to fly to, no expanding manufactures offering other openings to labour. A change in the relations between the peasantry and the owners of the soil, which three hundred years has but just effected, with the assistance of an unlimited field for emigration, was attempted harshly and unmercifully with no such assistance in a single generation. CH. 25.
A.D. 1548. Luxury increased by the side of misery. Luxury increased on one side, with squalor and wretchedness on the other, as its hideous shadow. The value of the produce of the land was greater than before, but it was no longer distributed. It fell into the hands of the few, and was spent in the purchase of luxuries from abroad; the Spartan severity of the old manners was exchanged for a vain, fantastic, and mischievous extravagance.* The wealth fell into the hands of the few,

* 'To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used among us,' says Becon, 'is too much wonderful; I think no realm in the world — no, not among the Turks and Saracens — doth so much in the vanity of their apparel as the English-

men do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks, their cap must be French, their dagger must be Scottish, with a Venetian tassell of silk. I speak nothing

CH. 25. The strictest canons of political economy do not give unrestricted scope to the rights of property. The State claims an interest in the condition of the people which overrides personal privileges. In our own time, even with the whole

A.D. 1548.

of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which because nothing should want to the setting forth of their fondness, will rather wear a marten chain the price of eightpence than they would be unchained. What a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become. To whom may he be compared worthily but to Æsop's crow, for as the crow decked herself with the feathers of all kinds of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman for the fond appraising of himself borrow of every nation to set himself forth gallant in the eyes of the world. He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, the other like a goat, the third like a dragon.—BECON's *Jewel of Joy*.

Under Mary, to make the English more like human beings, a 'device' was drawn for an act of apparel, which, however, could not be carried. It set forth 'that the ladies and their maids at court did so exceed in apparel, that many of them went so richly arrayed on working days as the Queen's Majesty's mother

did on holydays; so that it would be wished that no lady, knight, nor knight's wife, nor gentlewoman, nor gentleman under the degree of a lord, should have but one velvet gown, one damask gown, one satin gown for winter, and the like single gown for summer. Providing always that they should have for every one silk gown a gown of felt, or russet, or camlet, or worsted, and if they list, garded or welted, so that there be not above a yard and a half of velvet, and that they shall use no embroidery upon any garde, and that they shall wear some of their gowns of cloth, russet, camlet, or worsted three days every week, upon pain of ten shillings a day.'

A surveyor was to examine ladies' wardrobes from time to time, and report upon them, while for gentlemen there was another not less important direction.

'Provided also for these monstrous breeches commonly used, none under the degree of a lord or a baron shall wear any under pain of three pounds a day; none to have any stuffing of haire, wool flocks, towe, or other ways; and no man of little stature to have a bowe more than a yard and a half in the outer side, and the bigger men and the guards two yards, upon pain of twenty

world open for destitution to escape into comfort, CH. 25.
 a poor rate to the extent, if necessary, even of A.D. 1548.
 temporary confiscation,* is levied upon the land,
 if those who are born upon it cannot otherwise
 be saved from starvation. At a time when there And the explanation appeared to be that there was no religion left in England, and no law.
 was no organized system of relief, it was abso-
 lutely necessary to do something, though what
 should be done was more difficult to say. Sir
 William Paget touched the very heart of the
 matter when he said that there was no religion
 in England. 'Society in a realm,' he wrote to
 the Protector, 'doth consist and is maintained
 by means of religion and law, and these two or
 one wanting, farewell all just society, govern-
 ment, justice. I fear at home is neither. The
 use of the old religion is forbidden, the use of
 the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of
 eleven of twelve parts of the realm.† When When religion revived, prosperity returned.
 religion revived, the country righted of itself.
 The ancient healthy tone of English custom
 returned. The people and the crown united to
 replace the old ways, so far as it was good that
 they should be replaced. The grazing farms
 were disintegrated. The cottages of the peasants

ashillings a day the wearer, and
 forty shillings the maker of the
 hose.—*MS. Domestic*, Mary,
 State Paper Office.

In a variety of inventories of
 furniture in gentlemen's country
 houses in the reign of Mary, I
 find the hangings of beds—not
 of state beds, but beds for
 common use—to have been of
 blue, or crimson velvet; the
 window-curtains of satin, and,

in fact, everything except the
 washing apparatus, of which
 there is little or no mention, to
 have been similarly gorgeous.—
MS. Ibid.

* In many parts of Ireland,
 during the great famine, the
 poor-rate was twenty shillings in
 the pound.

† Paget to Somerset: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State
 Paper Office.

CH. 25. had again their own grounds attached to them.

A.D. 1548.

In twenty years a greater breadth of land was under the plough than had been broken for a century; and though prices still rose, and the altered spirit of property survived, yet the new order of things progressed slowly and moderately, and all classes were again prosperous and contented. But meanwhile the problem was one which would have tried a clearer intellect than belonged to Somerset. The ancient loyalty which had attached the yeoman to his feudal superior had given place to a deep and vindictive hatred. The lords, if less guilty personally than others of the landowners, did not care to compromise themselves by dangerous interference. The interests of the higher classes were combined against the lower, and the courts of law were themselves infected. What was to be done?

But meanwhile the people starved.

The Protector might have set an example which he omitted to set.

Principle and prudence would perhaps have united to recommend the Protector to set himself an example of abstinence from the pursuit of personal aggrandizement, before he meddled with others. As church and chantry lands fell in, he would have done wisely if he had neither kept them for himself, nor distributed them among his adherents; if he had disposed of them as national property and applied the proceeds to the restoration of the currency. Perhaps he was not wholly responsible for having missed seeing what his own and others' interests combined to conceal from him. Unhappily for himself, for his fortune and reputation, he chose a course for himself, generous in intention, yet

rash and dangerous, and deliberately against the opinion of the rest of the council. He was constitutionally haughty, and he was conscious of a noble and honourable purpose. He determined to enforce the statutes; and as the courts of law were tedious and corrupt, to follow the perilous counsel of Latimer, who recommended him to follow Solomon's example, and hear the causes of the poor himself.* Paget, to whom he owed the Protectorate, and to whose advice he had promised to listen, warned him to be cautious. Let him strengthen the hands of the magistrates, keep order, and prevent breaches of the peace. Let him ascertain privately who were the greatest offenders against the tillage statutes, send for them separately, reason with them, and, if necessary, punish them. But, if he valued either his own welfare, or the quiet of the kingdom, let him not attempt to interfere by force; above all, let him not meddle with the courts of law. Somerset, rash, confident, and enthusiastic, told him that he was a Cassandra. He established a Court of Requests in his own house, to receive the complaints of those who failed to find justice at Westminster; and on the 1st of June he sent out a commission to inquire in all counties into the actual condition of all estates, towns, villages, and hamlets, with power to imprison any one who should attempt opposition, and to send up to himself the names of those who had broken the law.

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

Paget advises him to be cautious and prudent—that the question is a dangerous one.

June.

The Protector appoints a commission of enclosures.

The commissioners were Fulke Greville, Sir

* *Sermons*, p. 127.

CH. 25. Francis Russell Lord Bedford's eldest son, John Hales, clerk of the Hanaper, and three others.

A. D. 1548.
June.

He will
enforce the
statutes,
and will
bring back
the Golden
age thus.

After dwelling in their instructions upon the causes of their appointment, and the unworthy shifts by which the acts of parliament were evaded, 'No good man,' the Protector said, 'will use such subtleties; he will rather abhor them; he will say, I know the laws were intended for the good of the State; men are not gods, and cannot make things perfect, therefore I will rather do that they meant, although without danger of the law I might do otherwise, and I will with all my heart do good to my country.' 'Let the commissioners do their duty bravely, and the world would be honest again, the great fines for lands would abate, all things would wax cheap, twenty and thirty eggs would again be sold for a penny, as in times past; and the poor craftsmen could live and sell their wares at reasonable prices; and the noblemen and gentlemen who had not enhanced their rents would be able once more to maintain hospitality.' 'Thus,' he concluded, 'ye will serve God, the king, and the commonwealth. Put away all fear of any person—landlord, master, or other. If you serve God, the king, and the commonwealth truly and faithfully—as they be able to defend you against the devil, the world, and private profit, so you may be sure they will suffer no person to do you injury.'*

* Instructions of the Protector to the Commissioners of Enclosures: STEYFE'S *Memorials*, vol. iv.

The enthusiasm of private individuals urges them to enterprises to which their natural strength is unequal; they prove at last the sincerity of their own convictions by the sacrifices which they make for their success; if they are mistaken, and their expectations deceive them, they injure only themselves. The enthusiasm of statesmen is less innocent in itself or in its consequences. The leaders of a suffering nation cannot with impunity excite hopes of relief which they have no means of realizing; least of all when the fulfilment of such hopes depends on the exercise of virtues which in themselves they are careless of practising.

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

June.

Enthusiasm is not a virtue desirable for statesmen.

The commissioners were received by the people as angel messengers. 'The Iron world,' the country villagers exclaimed, 'is now at an end; and the Golden world is returning.' 'If the thing go forward,' Hales wrote to the Protector, 'never king had so assured subjects as his Grace shall have, nor ever governor under a king that had so many men's hearts and good wills as your Grace shall have.' 'If there be any way or policy of man to make the people receive God's word, it is only this, when they see it bringeth forth so good fruit that men seek not their own wealth, nor their private commodity. I do certainly believe in your Grace's sayings, that maugre the devil, private profit, self-love, money, and such like the devil's instruments, it shall go forward and set such a stay in the body of the commonwealth, that all the members shall live in due

The commissioners believe that self-love and private interest are coming to an end.

CH. 25. temperament and harmony, without one having too much and a great many nothing.*

A.D. 1548.

A petition is drawn up to be laid before parliament.

The grievances of the people are detailed, and they require the dissolution of the large farms.

The report of the commission was sent in, and the result of it was a petition, to be presented in the coming parliament. The population, the petition stated, was diminished, the farmer and labourer were impoverished, villages were destroyed, towns decayed, and the industrious classes throughout England in a condition of unexampled suffering. The occasion was the conduct of the upper classes. 'Divers of the king's subjects, called to the degree of nobles, knights, or gentlemen, not considering that God had given them their high rank and place that they might be as shepherds to the people, surveyors and overseers to the King's Grace's subjects, and had given them sufficient provision that without bodily labour they might live and attend thereto,' had forgotten their obligations in their pleasures, and supposed that they might live for nothing else but to enjoy themselves, or make money for themselves. The petition requested, therefore, that no person of any degree, in possession of land, with more than a hundred marks a year, should farm any part of it beyond what his household required; that the great farms should be broken up; and that the act should be enforced which required persons to whom abbey lands had fallen by gift or purchase, to 'keep an honest continual house and household on the same.' Fines were demanded in cases of disobedience; but on the whole the tone

* Hales to the Protector: STYFFE'S *Memorials*, vol. iv.

of the petition was moderate. The acts of Henry, which were afterwards put in force by Elizabeth, extended the penalty in such cases to forfeiture. The present petitioners desired a fine only of ten marks a month for such time as the law should be uncomplied with; half to go to the crown, half to be divided between the informer and the poor of the parish which was injured.*

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
July.

But on the whole, the demands of the people are moderate.

Thus on three sides the Protector had provided himself with occupation. He had war with France and Scotland; he had undertaken a metamorphosis of religion; and he was going to extirpate avarice, selfishness, and cruelty out of the heart of mankind and bring back the Golden age. A domestic misfortune of no inconsiderable magnitude, added to the burden of his position.

Lord Seymour of Sudleye, High Admiral of England, resembled his brother in an ambition which was disproportioned to his ability, in an outward magnificence of carriage, in personal courage, address, and general accomplishments. There the resemblance ended. The Protector was ambitious, that he might do great things for the country; his brother's was the ambition of selfishness: the Protector was religious; 'the admiral,' said Latimer, 'was a man furthest from the fear of God that ever he knew or heard of in England.'† The Protector's moral life was blameless; the admiral had seduced and deserted

1547.

The history of Lord Seymour of Sudleye.

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. v. State Paper Office.

† LATIMER'S *Sermons before King Edward*.

CH. 25. at least one innocent woman, who fell into crime and was executed.* The Protector, when uninfluenced by theological antipathies, desired to be just; the admiral was a hard landlord, a tyrannical neighbour, an oppressor of the poor, a man of whom Latimer had heard so much wickedness that he ever wondered what would be the end of him.

A.D. 1547.
Lord Seymour
was not a
good man,

But he was
the king's
uncle, and
had done
service in
the wars.

Being the king's uncle, having committed no political offence, and having done good service at sea during the French war, Lord Seymour had nevertheless those claims to public employment which, with men of high birth and rank, have, at all periods in English history, been found sufficient to outweigh moral disqualifications. Henry VIII., though he had not named him among the executors, had given him a place on the privy council, and he was made High Admiral on the accession of his nephew. The precedents of English minorities were, however, in some degree departed from in his disfavour. When Henry VI. was a child the Protectorate was separated from the office of guardian to the king. Somerset was at once Protector of the realm and governor of Edward's person.

He was
therefore
made a
peer and a
privy coun-
cillor.

Thus the admiral, though raised to the peerage, presented with large estates, and with a lucrative and honourable office, was dissatisfied with his position; and, betraying at once the measure of his expectations, he required the consent of the council to his marriage with the Princess Eliza-

* LATIMER'S *Sermons before King Edward.*

beth, who was then not quite fifteen.* The council knew his disposition too well to listen to such a demand; but, although directly refused, he would not relinquish hope at once. He bribed to his interest a gentleman of the household named Fowler, and desired him to introduce the subject to the king. Fowler made an opportunity, and asked Edward whom the admiral should marry. Edward graciously offered Anne of Cleves; and then, after thinking a little, said, 'Nay, nay; wot you what? I would he married my sister Mary, to change her opinions.'† Anne of Cleves could in no sense be acceptable. A marriage with Mary would have satisfied Seymour's ambition, but her own consent would have been unobtainable, and the council would have been less willing to give him the elder sister than the younger.

He turned his thoughts elsewhere. Between himself and Catherine Parr, last queen of Henry, there had been some incipient love passages while she was the widow of Lord Latimer. Not choosing to risk a second refusal from the council, and undesirous probably that Queen Catherine

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.
Being ambitious, he desires to marry Elizabeth. The council not permitting him,

He marries Catherine Parr privately.

* 'I told my Lord Admiral in the Park at St. James's, that I heard one say that he should have married my Lady Elizabeth. 'Nay,' says he, 'I love not to lose my life for a wife. It has been spoken of, but it cannot be.'—Depositions of Katherine Ashley: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

The act of Seymour's attainder says that he attempted to marry Elizabeth immediately after the death of Henry, but that 'he was stayed by the Lord Protector and other of the council.'—2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 17.

† Deposition of John Fowler: *MS. Ibid.*

CH. 25. should know that he had looked elsewhere, he made his own immediate advances in this quarter in private. The queen promised to marry him in two years after her late husband's death; he successfully pressed her to abridge his probation to two months. Her sister, Lady Herbert, was the confidant;* and within four months of her widowhood certainly, perhaps within three, she became privately his wife. Seymour was admitted occasionally at night into the palace at Chelsea, where the queen resided,† and the indecorous haste might, possibly, have added a fresh difficulty in the succession to the crown.‡ The queen's person being secured, the difficult question arose next how the affair should be made public. The queen advised that her husband should tell the council that he was anxious to marry her, and should ask them to use their intercession with her. She would not have him apply particularly to his brother. It would be

* Wife of Sir William Herbert, afterwards Lord Pembroke.

† 'When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pains to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock, and so I suppose you may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour ye will come, that your portress may wait at the gate to the fields for you. By her that is and shall be your humble, true, and loving wife.'—Catherine Parr to Lord

Seymour: ELLIS, 1st Series, vol. ii.

‡ 'You married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that if she had conceived straight after, it should have been accounted a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours, whereby a marvellous danger might have ensued to the quiet of the realm.'—Articles against Lord Seymour: *Privy Council Records*, MS. Edward VI.

enough to ask the duke once, and his refusal, if he refused, 'would but make his folly manifest to the world.' The king and council would, no doubt, write to her. If the duke and duchess did not like it, it would be of no consequence.

CH. 25.
A. D. 1547.
The council
are dis-
pleased,
but the
affair is
passed
over.

The admiral approved the advice, his only anxiety being that if the Protector and the duchess consented, 'they should not afterwards be able to cast in his teeth that by their suit he had obtained his wife.' The king's letter was managed through Fowler. Edward, for the interests of the realm, desired the queen to look favourably on the suit of the uncle to whom she was already married. Seymour himself asked Mary to write; to whom, however, the suit appeared 'too strange to meddle with.' While the manœuvre was in progress the truth was discovered, and it is scarcely matter of wonder that 'my Lord Protector was much displeased.'*

Being done, however, the thing was passed over, and on the breaking out of the Scotch war, to cover unpleasant feelings, the admiral was desired to take command of the fleet. But he was sullen, or he had schemes of his own. He gave his place to Clinton, reserving to himself the management of the Admiralty, and he stayed at home pursuing his ambition or his amusements. Elizabeth, who had resided with Queen Catherine, and was ignorant, like the queen, of the intentions that he had entertained towards her, was permitted unaccountably to remain at

Lord
Seymour
declines the
command
of the fleet.

* KING EDWARD'S *Journal*.

CH. 25. Chelsea Palace after the marriage was discovered.

A.D. 1547.
He obtains
the custody
of Eliza-
beth and of
Lady Jane
Grey,

The admiral abused his opportunities to inflict upon the princess an impertinent familiarity, and her attendants were scandalized at seeing him morning after morning, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by his wife, lounge into her room in his dressing-gown before she had risen.

Nor was Elizabeth the only lady of rank whose custody he took upon himself. Next in succession to his own daughters, Henry VIII. had named the daughters of his niece, Frances, Marchioness of Dorset. Lady Jane Grey, the eldest of three children, was made over by her father to Seymour, who promised him that she should marry the king;* while over Edward himself he gained influence by bribing his attendants, by secretly providing him with money, and suggesting insinuations against the parsimony of the Protector in his allowance. He made a party at the same time among the Lords and Commons. The Marquis of Dorset was 'so seduced and aveugled by the lord admiral, that he promised him that, except the King's Majesty's person, he would spend his life and blood on the lord admiral's part against all men.'†

And gains
influence
over the
king and
Lord
Dorset.

So passed the time when Somerset was in Scotland. The invasion, Seymour told Edward, 'had been madly undertaken, and was money wasted

* Deposition of Dorset: Deposition of Sir William Sharrington: printed by HAYNES, *Burleigh Papers*, vol. i. Further Depositions of Sir William

Sharrington: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

† Sharrington's Confession.

in vain.' When the Protector returned in triumph, he whispered in Edward's ear, 'that he was too bashful in his own affairs; why did he not speak to bear rule as other kings did?*' As the meeting of the first parliament approached, he complained to various persons, 'that the late king had not intended that there should be a Protector; that there ought not to be a Protector, or, at least, that if one uncle was regent of the realm, the other should have the custody of the king's person. A bill was secretly drawn to separate the offices; to give effect to which he wrote a letter, purporting to be from the king to the Houses of Parliament, desiring them to favour his uncle the admiral in a suit which he was about to bring forward; and this letter he begged Sir John Cheke, who was the king's tutor, to persuade Edward to copy out and sign.†

CH. 25.

A.D. 1547.

He intrigues against his brother, and desires to be made governor of the king's person,

Cheke cautiously declined to meddle, and the admiral then attempted Edward himself. But the boy was shrewd enough to see that it was no place of his to interfere in such a matter. 'If the thing was right,' he said, 'the Lords would allow it; if it was ill, he would not write in it.'‡ Seymour therefore determined to depend upon himself. His unprincipled selfishness was aggravated into hatred by some foolish jealousy between his wife and the Duchess of Somerset. He had a claim, or supposed that he had a claim,

And tries to persuade Edward to interfere.

* Deposition of Edward VI.

† Deposition of Sir John Cheke: TYTLER, vol i.

‡ Deposition of Edward VI.

CH. 25. on certain jewels, detained by Somerset as crown
 A. D. 1547. property, which Queen Catherine asserted to have
 been a gift from Henry to herself. 'If I be
 thus used,' he said to Dorset and Clinton on their
 way to Westminster, at the opening of the
 session, 'by God's precious soul I will make this
 the blackest parliament that ever was in England.'
 He swore that 'he could live better without the
 Protector than the Protector without him.' He
 would 'take his fist to the ear' of the proudest
 that should oppose him, with other wild unpromising words.

He thinks
 of carrying
 off the
 king, and
 having
 possession,
 to keep it.

Such a man was not likely to effect much in parliament; his bill came to nothing; it was not so much as debated: and failing thus, he believed that he might secure the person of the king as he had secured his wife, by taking possession of it. Lounging one morning into St. James's Palace, and seeing the gates open and unguarded, he observed to Fowler, 'A man might steal away the king now, for there came more with me than is in all the house besides.' For the moment the enterprise was practicable enough, but he was perhaps suspected, and the palace was better defended for the future.

His wild language, his conversation with the king, his general insolent bearing, coupled with his refusal to take service with the fleet when called upon, at last induced the council to require him to appear before the board and explain himself. He defied their summons, dared them to imprison him, and disobeyed. The Protector could be severe to injustice with Gardiner, with

The council
 require him
 to explain
 his conduct.

He refuses,

his brother he was unjustly gentle. He permitted him to insult with impunity the authority of the government, he 'laboured,' through 'persuasion of friends' 'to frame him to amendment of his evil.' 'Considering the age of the king,' 'his subjects not altogether in the best concord for religion,' and the possibility of 'tumult and danger,' 'he thought to bridle him with liberality;' and therefore allowed him to retain the office which he abused, and gave him further 'lands to the yearly value of 800*l*.*

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.

And the Protector grants him fresh lands.

It was 'hire and salary' to persevere in misconduct. But the admiral wanted discretion to be a successful conspirator. He could not wait for opportunities; his unquiet nature preferred unquiet means. His business at the Admiralty courts had made him acquainted with a class of men who, under various aspects, would play a great part in the coming half century. The improvements in navigation which followed the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, the extension of trade, and the increased value in the freightage of merchant vessels, had spread over the seas an abundance of easy booty. The privateers, Spanish, French, English, Scotch, and Flemish, who in time of war learnt the habits of plunder under a show of legality, glided by an easy transition into buccaneers whenever peace withdrew from them their licenses. The richness of the possible spoils, the dash and adventure in the mode of obtaining it, and the doubtful relations

He becomes acquainted with the privateers and pirates of the Channel;

* Act of Attainder of Lord Seymour of Sudleye.

CH. 25. of the courts of Europe to each other, which
 A.D. 1548. made the services of such men continually valuable, and secured them the partial connivance of their respective governments, combined to disguise the infamy of a marauding profession. The pirate of to-day was the patriot of to-morrow, and fleets of adventurers recruited largely from the harbours of Devonshire and Cornwall, twenty and thirty sail together, haunted the mouth of the Channel, pillaging Spanish gold-ships from Panama, French wine-ships from Bordeaux, the rich traders from Antwerp or from their own Thames with great impartiality, and retired, if pursued, among the dangerous shoals of Scilly, or the distant creeks and coves on the south coast of Ireland.*

* Accounts of these buccaneers are frequent in the Irish State Correspondence. At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., proclamations were out for the arrest of two famous rovers, named Thomson and Stevenson. The Mayor of Cork wrote to Dublin that they were lying in the harbour there, the country people openly resorting to their ships, and he himself, the mayor, for fear they should burn the town, allowing them to buy what they wanted in the market. Another letter from the same place described Captain Strangways, another pirate, with thirteen of his men, lounging about Cork, the mayor afraid to meddle with them, and some of the party busy casting cannon.—

Irish MSS. Edward VI. State Paper Office.

The following letter from Kinsale is an exact transcript:—

‘TO SIR EDWARD BELLINGHAM,
 LORD DEPUTY.

‘Right Honourable,—After our humble duties premyssayd unto your good Lordship, pleasyd the same to be advertysayd that we resheweth your letter the 13th day of July, and as we persew the tenore, we wyll fulfill your Lordship is comandiment both nyght and day to the uthermost of our puere, which is lyttel Gode knowis, for all our men dyed with pestelent, and we have a wyde empty thowne and few men, and naghty and unstruly negboris, which we rest

Complaints came frequently before the Admiralty. Occasionally one of the vessels was taken, the crews were handed over to Seymour for justice, and the recovered cargoes were set apart to be restored to their owners. But the merchants, foreign and English, were exasperated to find that neither were the goods given back to them nor the offenders punished. Ornaments known to have been plundered were seen on the persons of the admiral's followers. Notorious pirates brought in by the king's cruisers were set at liberty by his order; and suspicions went abroad that Lord Seymour was attaching them to himself for services on which he might eventually require their assistance. He was found to have made a purchase of the Scilly Isles, that they might be undisturbed in their favourite

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

With whom he enters into an understanding,

And buys the Scilly Isles, their general rendezvous.

not nyght nor day, both waget our thowne for ferd of the Irysmen abuthe us be lande and be see allsoo. The contre abuthe us is in wast, and all the socure that we were wonth to have is be our hawen; both naw ys stoppyth from us be Eglis pyraturs, which wolde not suffure no wyttell nor socure comys to us, both tak it within our hawen. And now of lathe cam on Richard Colle with a Spinache and 18 or 20 men, and maryde with Barry Oghe is aunt, and dwellyth in his castell within our hawen and our lyberty, and there he remanyd and wold not suffure non to cum to the thowne, buthe tak them and spoyl them, whiche is grett henderanche to us Gode knowys,

and if it lyeth in our puere to mett with hem, we knowe not what ys your wyll therein; de-asyng your honourable Lordship to wrytt us what ys best to do. Wrytten at Kynshall the 15th day of July, 1548.

'Your Lordshyps most asuryd,
'THE SOFFREAYN AND
CONSELL OF KYNESHALL.'

Sympathizing readers will be glad to know that these pirates came duly to a becoming end. On the 25th of the same month of July, a large French vessel with a hundred hands came into Kinsale harbour. Colle attempted to take her, but failed; his crew, if not himself, were taken instead, and were disposed of on the yard-arm.

CH. 25. haunt; or that, if he failed in his larger schemes, he might open a new career to himself of revenge and pillage as a pirate chieftain.*

A. D. 1548.
The master
of the mint
at Bristol
supplies
him with
money.

Money, as usual, in such cases, was the great necessity. The Protector's liberality had been great; but the income from landed property, however large, was insufficient for the exigencies of a conspiracy; and he found means of replenishing his exchequer in a more questionable quarter. He had come to an understanding with Sharrington, the master of the Bristol mint. The admiral agreed to support Sharrington before the council if Sharrington were called to answer for his frauds. Sharrington would coin money for the admiral to any extent which the latter might require.

The Protector remonstrates in vain.

Knowing something of these doings, and suspecting more, the Protector from time to time remonstrated, but in language in which the supreme magistrate was lost in the brother;† the admiral considered the lightest admonition as a fresh provocation,‡ and thought only of supplanting him.

In the midst of his schemes Queen Catherine was confined of a daughter, and a few days after

* 'You had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous Isles of Scilly, where being aided with ships and conspiring at all evil events with pirates, you might have a sure and safe refuge if anything for your demerits should be attempted against you.'—Articles against Lord Seymour: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

† See especially a letter of the 1st of September, 1548, printed by TYTLEE, vol. i. p. 120.

‡ 'He told me that my Lord his brother was fallen out with him concerning the Admiralty, and how his Grace took their part before his. My Lord would have my head under his girdle, he said, but I trust we shall do well enough for all this.'—Fowler's Deposition: *MS. Ibid.*

died. The admiral's conduct immediately caused a belief that 'he had holpen her to her end;'^{*} and had Queen Catherine been in any way an obstacle to his ambition, he would no doubt have rid himself of her with entire unscrupulousness. Men do not murder their wives, however, gratuitously; her husband was losing a splendid connexion, with no security that he would exchange it for a better; and his friends, and he himself, if his word could be trusted, held his position to be weakened by his loss. Catherine, probably, died from her confinement, but Seymour lost no time in attempting to improve his misfortune. Elizabeth had been removed from his house; she was now living at Hatfield with an establishment of her own, and Seymour reverted to his original intention of marrying her. First, however, it was necessary for him to keep his hold on Lady Jane Grey. Somerset wanted to marry this lady to his own son Lord Hertford (or so the admiral affected to fear). On the queen's death, Lady Dorset naturally considered his house no longer a proper residence for her daughter; and if she once left his roof, the Protector, he believed, would take possession of her. The father's authority was brought in, therefore, to overbear the mother's. The admiral had lent Dorset money, and promised to lend him more. Lady Jane was allowed to remain.

This difficulty being disposed of, he turned to Elizabeth. By free use of money, Seymour gained to his interests her governess Mrs. Ashley,

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.

August.
Queen Catherine dies, and he is suspected of having made away with her.

He again proposes to marry Elizabeth.

He gains over her governess and the steward of her household.

^{*} Act of Attainder of Lord Seymour.

CH. 25. and the steward of her household, Sir Thomas Parry. His name was kept incessantly in the ears of the young princess. His merits, and his feelings towards herself were the perpetual theme of conversation; and as a first step she was pressed to acknowledge that she would take him for a husband, if the council would consent. A girl of sixteen might be excused if she had erred when her protectors were betraying her, but she refused to say anything. She would not admit a question of her own feelings till the council had expressed theirs; least of all would she admit Seymour to an interview, though he pressed for it with ingenious excuses.* Yet it is uncertain how his suit might have eventually ended. His object was to anticipate objections by the same expedient of a secret marriage, which had answered before, and Elizabeth's resolution might have yielded possibly before the persuasion of her friends,† had not the many-sided schemes of the admiral revealed themselves in time.

He makes
a party
among the
lords,

While intriguing with the household at Hatfield, he was preparing for the movement for which the next session of parliament was to give

* Those who are curious in such stories may study the details of Seymour's courtship of Elizabeth, in the examinations of witnesses, printed by HAYNES in the first volume of the *Burleigh Papers*, and in the supplementary collection, in the sixth volume of the *Domestic MSS.* of the reign of Edward VI., in the State Paper Office.

† In the tone in which she spoke of him to Mrs. Ashley, a kind of regard seemed to be struggling with contempt. 'In love with him,' to use the language of some historians on the matter, she certainly never was, but it might have come to that with time and opportunity.

the occasion. The failures in Scotland, and the religious discontent which was commencing, had already shaken the Protector's authority. Lord Seymour intended to take his brother's place. He had arranged with Sharington for money sufficient to keep ten thousand men in the field for a month. Dorset was devoted to him, and Catherine Parr's brother, Lord Northampton, was well inclined.* He had fortified and provisioned Holt Castle. He had a cannon foundry in the country, and another at Southwark, where he had thirty workmen in constant employ, and twenty-four cannon, with thirteen tons of shot, ready prepared for immediate service.

CH. 25.
A.D. 1548.
September.

And establishes a cannon foundry.

Such was the aspect of England when the first parliament of Edward VI. assembled for its second session on the 24th of November, to sanction the changes of creed and ritual which Cranmer was now ready to bring forward. The Latin services were to be completely and finally superseded by an English Prayer-book, a draft of which was at last in a condition to receive the consent of the Lords and Commons. The archbishop, 'to build up,' as he said, 'a body of doctrine which should be agreeable to Scripture,' had collected opinions from all parts of Europe. He had brought over Peter Martyr and Bernard Ochin, and many other Continental Reformers, Zuinglians and Lutherans, to assist him; he had entreated the help, either in person or by letter, of Melancthon. Extreme views on either side

Nov. 24.

The archbishop has prepared an English Prayer-book.

* See the depositions in HAYNES.

CH. 25. had neutralized each other; and the result of his labours was the first imperfect draught of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the present Church of England. The magnitude of the innovation can now be with difficulty appreciated, when the novelty of the sixteenth century has in its turn been consecrated by time. Of the strange features of the change the strangest was, perhaps, that the official opinion of convocation was scarcely asked even in form. Parliament now discussed the faith of England, and laymen decided on the doctrines which the clergy were compelled to teach.

A.D. 1548.
November.

Parliament
meets, and
declines to
meddle
with the
farms.

The minor business of the session has first to be related. The petition presented by the Commissioners of Enclosures was made the foundation of an Enclosure Bill, which was rejected summarily by the House of Lords. Mr. Hales persevered, and produced a second, which the Lords passed; but on going to the House of Commons, the lamb, he said, was in the wolf's custody. It was pulled in pieces in committee, and came to nothing. A third found a similar fate; and the Protector had succeeded only in raising hopes which he was obliged to disappoint.* The Clergy Marriage Act of the last year was brought up again, and discussed in many forms. First, it was proposed that laymen having wives might be made priests; then, more vaguely, that married men might be priests. At last it was determined simply to repeal all positive laws enforcing celibacy, as having given occasion to

* STYRPE'S *Memorials of the Reformation*, pp. 210, 211.

vice. But, in abolishing the prohibition to marry, the parliament continued to signify their moral disapproval. 'It were better for the estimation of priests,' they said, 'and therefore much to be wished, that they would willingly endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity.'*

CH. 25.

A.D. 1548.
November.
The clergy
are per-
mitted to
marry.

'Fasting' was next dealt with in a similar spirit of compromise. In the light of the new doctrine the distinctions between days and meats no longer existed. There was, and could be, nothing definitely pleasing to God in eating meat or abstaining from it on one day more than another; yet, 'due and godly abstinence from flesh was a means to virtue, to subdue men's bodies to the soul and spirit.' 'By eating of fish much flesh was saved to the country,' and the fishing-trade was the nursery of English seamen. For these causes, true each in itself, however grotesque they appear in combination, Fridays, Saturdays, the eves of saints' days, Ember days, and Lent, were ordered to be observed in the usual manner, under penalties for each offence of a fine of ten shillings and ten days' imprisonment.† It was undesirable to allow the fishermen to be thrown suddenly out of employment, till a natural demand had taken the place of an artificial one; it would have been better if, in other respects as well as here, ancient customs had been allowed to wear themselves out, and to die of disuse.

Fasting to
be con-
tinued for
the benefit
of the
fisheries.

But the question of the session was the Prayer-

* 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 21.

† Ibid. cap. 19.

CH. 25. book and the Act of Uniformity; and in the Prayer-book the service for the communion. The change of substance in the elements at the eucharist, the material incorporation of the believers in the body of Christ by the reception of those elements, was and is the essential and central doctrine of the Catholic Church. That body when it left the grave was subject no longer to the ordinary properties of matter. It ascended to heaven, that it might fill all things. In the sacrament it became flesh of man's flesh, and not in metaphor, but in literal truth, was the mechanical instrument of man's salvation. So the Catholic believed; so more vaguely, yet not less positively, the Lutheran believed. The mystic words spoken by the priest in the consecration formed the keystone of the arch which joined the visible and the invisible worlds; and round these words and their accessories the controversy between Catholic, Lutheran, and Zuinglian was now revolving. On the passing of the act, in the session of 1547, for communion in both kinds, a service had been put out in which the Catholic doctrine was maintained substantially intact; but heresy and orthodoxy changed places rapidly, and among the reforming clergy Lutheranism was fast disappearing. On the opinions of Cranmer himself there was still uncertainty.

A.D. 1548.
November.
Transub-
stantiation
and the
commu-
nion
service.

Jan. 7. Though the Act of Uniformity was not brought forward till the 7th of January, the book of which the act was the sanction must have been laid before the Houses at the beginning

of the session. 'On the 14th of December,' CH. 25.
 Bartholomew Traheron wrote to Bullinger, 'a A.D. 1548.
 disputation was held on the eucharist in the Dec. 14.
 presence of almost the whole nobility; the
 battle was sharply fought by the bishops; Can- The ques-
 tion is
 debated in
 the Lords'
 house.
 terbury, contrary to expectation, maintained your
 opinion (the Swiss); truth never obtained a brighter
 victory; it is all over with the Lutherans.*
 On the 22nd of December John Isham, writing
 to Sir Edward Bellingham, in Ireland, said:—
 'Blessed be God, all things go well forward here
 in the parliament house, for they go directly and
 clearly to extinguish all Popish traditions, and
 do set forth the true word of God; and goodly
 orders be already devised to stablish the King's
 Majesty's realm in divine service to be used in
 his churches. But there is great sticking
 touching the blessed body and blood of Jesus
 Christ. I trust they will conclude well in
 it, by the help of the Holy Ghost, without
 whom such matters cannot well be tried. Part
 of our bishops† that have been most stiff in Cranmer
 declares
 against
 the real
 presence.
 opinion of the reality of his body, that as He
 was here on earth should be in the bread, now
 confess and say that they were not of that
 opinion. But yet there is hard hold with some
 to the contrary, who shall relent when it pleaseth
 God.‡

The victory, notwithstanding Traheron's au-

* Traheron to Bullinger: *Epistola* TIGURINÆ.

† He means Cranmer.

‡ Isham to Bellingham: *Irish MSS.* vol. v. Edward VI. State
 Paper Office.

CH. 25. A. D. 1548.
Dec. 26.
The debate
is hot and
the results
uncertain. guries, was still doubtful on the 26th of December, and Peter Martyr was in alarm at the vigour and determination of the Catholics; if the body of Gardiner were in the Tower, his spirit was abroad and powerful. 'There is so much contention about the eucharist,' Martyr said, 'that every corner is full of it; every day the question is discussed among the Lords, with such disputing of bishops as was never heard; the Commons thronging the Lords' galleries to hear the arguments.'*

1549.
January.

The dispute ends
in a compromise. The nature of the debates can be conjectured only from the result, which, as on the other questions, was a compromise. On the 7th of January the Act of Uniformity was brought into the House of Lords; on the 15th it was passed; eight bishops—London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester—the Earl of Derby, Lord Windsor, and Lord Dacres, remaining to the last dissentient. These would have had no change; they would have retained the breviary and the missal: but neither were the Genevans any more successful on the other side. The first communion service was retained, with scarcely an alteration; and the mystery of the eucharist was left untouched;† the minister was still uniformly called 'a priest;' the communion-table

* Peter Martyr to Bucer: *Epistolæ Tigurinæ*.

† Among the directions at the end of the communion service in the Prayer-book of 1549, the

bread was ordered 'to be such as had been heretofore accustomed, each of the consecrated breads to be broken into two pieces or more, at discretion;' 'and men,'

uniformly an altar; and prayers for the dead were retained in the burial service, and in the prayer for the church militant. The English people were tenacious of their old opinions. The ultra-Protestant changes in the Prayer-book of 1552 were followed by a recoil under Mary to the mass, and the ultimate compromise under Elizabeth indicated the stationary point at which the oscillations of the controversy tended at last to rest.

CH. 25.
A.D. 1549.
January.
The English are disinclined to any definite view.

In the midst of these grave questions, the attention of the government and of parliament was called away to the wild doings of Lord Seymour. Misconceiving his position, his strength, and his popularity, the admiral had scarcely cared any longer to throw a veil over his intentions. The fortunes and prospects of Elizabeth and Mary were left by Henry contingent on their marrying with the consent of the council. Seymour's views upon the former were widely suspected, and Lord Russell warned him that he for one would support in such a matter the will of the late king. But Seymour supposed that he could overbear minor difficulties; he had Dorset and Northampton with him; to the Earl of Rutland he talked openly of putting an end to the Protectorate; he had told him that he looked for his support in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and advised him to make a party in the country, among the yeomen and the

Lord Seymour is warned against following out his designs upon Elizabeth.

it was said, 'must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of Our Saviour Jesus Christ.' It was ruled also that 'the people should receive the sacrament in their mouths at the priest's hands.'

CH. 25. franklins. Trusting that Wriothesley still resented the loss of the chancellorship, he tried to gain him too by a promise that it should be restored. In Wriothesley, however, he found himself at once mistaken. 'For God's sake, my Lord,' the ex-chancellor replied to his advances, 'take heed what you do; I hear abroad that you make a party.' 'Marry, I would have things better ordered,' the admiral said. 'My Lord,' said Wriothesley, 'beware how you attempt any violence. It were better that you had never been born, yea, that you had been burned quick alive, than that you should attempt it.* So much as Wriothesley knew of his proceedings was carried at once to the Protector, who replied that the Tower, if nothing else, should keep his brother from Elizabeth. Lady Jane Grey, it was insisted, should return at once to her family. In the middle of January further communications were made by Rutland, and Seymour once more was called on to appear before the council, and answer for himself. But he believed that he might continue to resist with impunity. He did not choose to admit the Protector's authority, and while he hated him, he presumed upon his forbearance. He wrote a letter of excuse, which he showed before he sent it to the Earl of Warwick.

A.D. 1549.
January.

His dangerous language is reported to the Protector.

He is again required to appear before the council.

The ambitious Warwick had but little love for the Duke of Somerset; but, if there was to be a change in the government, it should

* Deposition of the Earl of Northampton.

not be for the advantage of another Seymour. CH. 27.
 The Protector, Warwick said, would arrest him; A.D. 1549.
January.
 at least, if he were himself the Protector, he would
 arrest him. 'By God's precious soul,' Seymour He
 answered, 'whosoever lays hands on me to fetch threatens
 me to prison, I shall thrust my dagger in him.'* to stab any
one who
comes to
arrest him.
 Such a state of things could not continue.
 On the 17th of January an order of council was
 taken for his seizure, and he was committed to the He is sent
to the
Tower, and
his accom-
plices con-
fess.
 Tower. The imprisonment of the admiral was
 an intimation of his weakness to his accomplices,
 who made haste to save themselves at his expense.
 Sharington threw himself on the mercy of the
 government, and made a full confession. The
 extent of his frauds at the mint appeared now to
 be something like 40,000*l.*—that is, he had put
 into circulation a hundred thousand pounds in
 base silver coin. The feeble Dorset told of the
 promise to marry Edward to Lady Jane Grey.
 Katherine Ashley was arrested and questioned.
 Sir Thomas Tyrwhit went down to Hatfield to
 examine Elizabeth. The cannon foundries were
 discovered; the secret dealings with the pirates;
 all the features of a conspiracy, in which personal
 ambition was unredeemed by the affectation of a
 public object, or by a reasonable prospect of
 success.

Evidence of various kinds flowed in through
 the close of January and the greater part of the
 month following; Parliament meanwhile passed

* Deposition of the Earl of Warwick: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

CH. 25. a subsidy bill for the defence of the country.
 A.D. 1549. February. Parliament passes a subsidy bill. Whatever differences of opinion might exist on his policy, Somerset found parliament so far ready to support him. The clergy granted an income-tax of ten per cent. for three years. The laity gave a shilling in the pound on their personal property, with a poll-tax of eightpence on male subjects above twelve years old, and a further duty on sheep and wool; 'considering,' as they said, 'the condition of the world,' the intrigues of France in Scotland and Ireland, the probability of a combination of the Catholic powers under the Pope to put down the Reformation; and 'content to leave father, mother, brethren, sisters, wives, children, lands, and goods, yea, and this mortal life also, rather than deny Christ and forsake his word.'*

Feb. 23. The conspiracy being finally unravelled, Sir William Sharrington was then, after a full confession, attainted; and on the 23rd of February the privy council in a body waited on the admiral in the Tower. The charges against him, thirty-three in number, were read over in his presence, and he was asked whether he, on his part, had any defence to urge. He replied that he would say nothing, except in open trial. The chancellor ordered him to speak on his allegiance. 'His resolute answer was, that for a reply they should not look for it from him.'† Possibly he trusted to his friends, possibly to the divisions in the

Lord Seymour, being examined by the council, refuses to answer.

* 2 and 3 Edward VI. capp. 35, 36.
 † *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. MS.

council, possibly to his brother; at all events, he would not answer. CH. 25.

Lord Seymour has not failed to receive from historians the sympathy which is bestowed so generally on political sufferers. He has had the advantage of an indignation which assumes, as a rule admitting of but few exceptions, that all who have inflicted punishment have been tyrants, all who have endured punishment have been martyrs. There are many writers whose 'virtue' it is

A.D. 1549.
February.

To make him worthy whose offence subdues him,
And curse that justice did it.

Where there has been a trial, they set it aside as of no authority; where there has been an attainder, they exclaim against the want of a trial; as if the unscrupulous abuse of power which could carry an act of parliament by intimidation, would not equally have infected a court of justice.

The admiral, refusing to answer or explain 'when peradventure there might have been hopes for him either to be found guiltless, or to receive pardon,'* the question arose next, 'whether he should be proceeded against by order of justice and custom of the realm; or, specially, since parliament was sitting, whether parliament should have the ordering of the matter.' The chancellor and the rest of the council gave their opinions one by one for an act of attainder; 'lastly, the Protector, declaring how sorrowful a case this was to him,

Shall he
then be
tried or be
attainted
by act of
parliament?

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

CH. 25. said that he did yet rather regard his bounden duty to the King's Majesty and the crown of England, than his own son or brother, and did weigh more his allegiance than his blood, and therefore he would not resist the Lords' request.' Edward himself was present on the debate; 'we do perceive,' the king said, when the Protector had spoken, 'that there is great things which be objected and laid to my Lord Admiral mine uncle, and they tend to treason; we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request.'*

A.D. 1549.
February.
The council
declare for
attainder.

The opinion
of Latimer
on the fit-
ness of such
a course.

'Unjust,' exclaimed some among the English public. 'He should have been allowed to come to his answer.' 'Charity,' replied Latimer, assuredly no sycophant of government, to such complainers, 'worketh to say the best of magistrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. It is a good law for a man to answer for himself, reasonable, allowable, and good; and yet such urgent cause there may be, that a man may rightly be condemned in his absence. I am provoked of some to condemn this law, but I am not able, so that it be used rarely, for avoiding disturbances in a commonwealth. Surely I would have it done rarely, upon some great respect for avoiding tumults and peril. St. Paul was allowed to answer for himself. If Lysias the tribune had not plucked him away from showing of his matter, it had cost him his life. When

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

St. Paul was saved by the magistrate, being but CH. 25.
 a private man, will ye not allow that something A.D. 1549.
 may be done for saving of the magistrate's life? February.
 I, for my part, think not but they of the parliament did well. I advise thee, my fellow-subject, use thy tongue better, and expound well the doings of the magistrate.*

Thanks were given to the king for his permission. A bill was drawn, and a committee of both Houses had the admiral brought before them, 'that neither excuse for him, nor information to the parliament, should want, if he could or would make any defence.' Finding The admiral now consents to plead. that he was not to be tried, he then agreed to plead. The accusations were again read over, and he began his replies. The first charge was, that he had endeavoured to gain possession of the king's person: he admitted it; he had looked at precedents, he said, and had intended to bring a motion before the House of Lords; but Sir William Paget 'had made him ashamed of his doings, and he had left his labour.' He admitted next, that he had given money to the king's attendants, and to Edward himself; and He begins to reply, but stops short, and will say no more. that he had endeavoured to persuade Edward to write a letter to the parliament to change the government. But as the more serious charges followed, he gave up his defence; he had confessed enough, he said, and he would answer no more.

The next day, the 25th, the bill was brought Feb. 25.

CH. 25. before the Lords. The witnesses repeated their evidence in person, and 'the judges declared the case to be manifest treason.' It was read a first time on the spot, and a second and third time on the two days following, without a dissenting voice; 'the Lord Protector only, for natural pity's sake, desiring licence at the passing of the bill to be away.'* Among the Commons Seymour had a party, and there the matter 'was much debated and argued.'† 'His friends,' Latimer said, 'though he were not there himself, had liberty to answer for him; and there were in the parliament a great many learned men, conscionable men, wise men.' On the 5th of March the House of Commons desired to hear the evidence again, and Southampton, Rutland, Dorset, and Russell appeared to make their depositions. 'The minds of the lawyers being axed and declared,' they stated, 'that the offences of the Lord Admiral came within the compass of high treason; and when no man was able to say the contrary, being divers times provoked thereunto by the Speaker, the nether house being marvellous full, almost to the number of four hundred, not more than ten or twelve giving their nays thereunto,' the bill passed, and five days after was sent to the crown, with a request that 'justice might have place.'

CH. 25.
A.D. 1549.
March.

The bill of
attainder
passes the
Lords.

The Commons
desire to have the
witnesses
before them,
and having
heard the
evidence,
pass the
bill also.

'And forasmuch as the council did perceive that the case was so heavy and lamentable to the Lord Protector, if the King's Highness was so

* *Privy Council Records, Edward VI. MS.*

† *Ibid.*

pleased, they said that they would proceed without further troubling or molesting either his Highness or the Lord Protector.*

CH. 25.

A.D. 1549.
March.
The council
relieve the
Protector
from all
further in-
terference.

Somerset would still have interfered; and it was found necessary to prevent an interview between the brothers if the sentence was to be executed.† From the first he had endeavoured to overcome the admiral's jealousy by kindness. He maintained the same tenderness to the end, while the admiral's last action showed that he too was equally unchanged. On the 17th of March, the Bishop of Ely brought notice to Seymour to prepare for death. He employed his last days in writing to Elizabeth and Mary, urging them to conspire against his brother; that the letters might not miss their destination, he concealed them in the sole of a shoe; and when before the block, and about to kneel for the stroke of the axe, his last words were a charge to his servant to remember to deliver them.‡ For the rest, cowardice was not among his faults: he died without flinching; not, it would seem, at the first blow.

The admiral makes his preparations for death,

‘As touching the kind of his death, whether

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

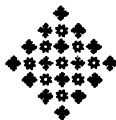
† ‘I heard my Lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered, but great persuasion was made to him.’—Elizabeth to Queen Mary: ELLIS, second series, vol. ii. p. 256.

‡ The words were overheard. The servant was examined, and the letters were found. They had been written with great ingenuity. ‘He made his ink so craftily and with such workmanship as the like has not been seen. He made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose.’—LATIMER'S *Sermons*, p. 162.

CH. 25. he be saved or no,' said Latimer, 'I refer that to
A.D. 1549. God. In the twinkling of an eye He may save
March. a man, and turn his heart. What He did I
And is cannot tell. And when a man hath two strokes
executed. with an axe, who can tell but between two strokes
he doth repent? It is hard to judge. But this
I will say, if they will ask me what I think of
his death, that he died very dangerously, irk-
somely, and horribly. He was a wicked man,
and the realm is well rid of him.'*

Sharrington was pardoned. If there was in-
justice, it was in the mercy to the accomplice,
not in the punishment of the principal offender.
Latimer is likely to have been a better judge of
Seymour's character and Seymour's crimes than
those who would now impugn the sentence upon
him.

* LATIMER'S *Sermons*, p. 162.





CHAPTER XXVI.

FALL OF THE PROTECTOR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the new service-
book, Somerset could scarcely have been
satisfied with the condition of the country or
with the results of his own administration.
Parliament had granted a subsidy; but a subsidy
threefold greater would not have extricated the
treasury from its difficulties. The expenses of
the war could be measured and allowed for; but
the expenses of universal speculation were infinite,
and from the royal palace to the police stations
on the Tweed all classes of persons in public
employment were contending with each other
in the race of plunder and extravagance. The
chantry lands, which, if alienated from religious
purposes, should have been sold for the public
debts, were disappearing into private hands, with
small advantage to the public exchequer. The
expenses of the household, which in 1532 were
nineteen thousand pounds, in 1549 were more
than a hundred thousand. Something was due
to the rise of prices, and much to the currency;
but the first preponderating cause was in the

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
March.

General
waste and
extrava-
gance in
the admi-
nistration.

Increase in
the ex-
penses of
the house-
hold.

CH. 26. waste and luxury of the courtiers, and all but universal fraud.* The captain of infantry on the Northern Border took pay and rations for the full number of his troop, and hired countrymen on muster-days to fill his empty ranks; his soldiers connived at his dishonesty, while he in turn indulged them in plunder. The 'labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, bow-makers,' artificers of all kinds employed by the government, called in vain for their wages.† The garrisons in the forts, on the coast, at Calais, and at Boulogne, were in the same case. Provisions were supplied them on credit, and the government at times paid, or professed to pay, the contractors; but the troops were discontented, mutinous, and disorderly; their officers had lost control over them; sometimes, for the means of subsistence, they were driven to plunder beyond the borders of the Calais pale, on the French or Flemish frontier; and the council had to excuse themselves as they could to the Emperor.‡

A.D. 1549.
March.
Frauds
among the
public
officers.

Wages of
soldiers
and work-
men em-
ployed by
the govern-
ment in
arrears.

The Calais
and Bou-
logne gar-
risons
driven to
plunder to
maintain
themselves.

The Pro-
tector at-
tempts to
raise Ger-
man troops
for another
invasion of
Scotland.

Undeterred by his embarrassments, the Protector was meditating another invasion of Scotland in the coming summer, and had sent to Germany for fresh levies of mercenaries. The Lanzknechts refused to serve, unless in numbers large enough to enable them to compel good treatment. 'If they should go less in number

* The memoranda of the expenses of the household in the reign of Edward VI. were in a manuscript in the possession of Strype, who has printed extracts from it in the *Memorials of the*

Reformation. Where the manuscript is now I do not know.

† LATIMER's *Sermons*, p. 261.

‡ The Council to Sir Philip Hoby: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

than three or four thousand men, they affirmed CH. 26.
 they should be brought to the butcher's stall.' A.D. 1549.
 'It was said by the evil report of soldiers that April.
 had come out of England, that men there were
 more ordered like beasts than Christians, both in
 the scarcity of victual and payment.*

The restoration of the currency, which had
 been twice feebly intended, was again postponed.
 When the time came for the bad coin to be
 called in, a proclamation was put out instead,
 ordering that bad coin and good should be The cur-
 received at a uniform price; and coiners and rency is
 multipliers were threatened with forfeiture of life, not re-
 lands, and goods; while Sir William Sharington, formed,
 who had added treason and breach of trust to and fresh
 forgery, was pardoned and again employed. The loans are
 daily supplies for the common necessities of raised in
 the government were provided by loans from the Flanders.
 Antwerp Jews. The borrowing system com-
 menced by Henry in the war had never ceased.
 The government, since Henry's death, had
 run the usual course of spendthrifts—making
 promises of payment, and when they could
 not keep them, renewing their bills with in-
 creasing interest, and progressing from the
 open money-dealer to the usurious Jew. A
 Lazarus Tucker and an Erasmus Schertz were Progress of
 now the principal feeders of the English treasury. public em-
 When Lazarus would lend no more, books were barrass-
 opened with Schertz; and then Lazarus, 'for ment.

* Dymock to the Council: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI.,
 bundle 1, State Paper Office.

CH. 26. malice of the other, and for his own profit,'
 would untie his purse, and lend again at thirteen
 per cent., deducting, however, thirteen per cent.
 additional on the exchange, from the condition
 of the English currency; while the Protector,
 on his side, would pay interest in 'kerseys, lead,
 and bell-metal.' The lead and bells he would
 take from the churches and chantries; the
 kerseys, it is to be hoped in charity, he did not
 purchase of the manufacturers in the base coin
 which they were compelled to accept as genuine.
 Never before, and never since, has an English
 government been reduced to shifts so scandalous.*

The Pro-
 tector is
 reduced to
 question-
 able shifts.

The relations with France were more dangerous
 than if war had been declared. From many quar-
 ters the Protector was warned that an attack

* See the Letters of the Council to Mr. Damosell at Antwerp: *Flanders MSS.* Edward VI. State Paper Office. The character of the correspondence may be judged from such specimens as these:—'For-
 somuch as the exchange falleth daily so sore, if you can devise to bargain with some of them to take kerseys or cloths for the money, and devise by what means the king might after that sort save the loss of the interest, and such exchange as he doth now sustain, ye should do right well in it, and deserve thanks.'

'When ye write that ye may have money to a 100,000*l.* upon interest, we would gladly know whether you could bargain with them, considering the fall of the exchange, that they would take

payment in cloths and kerseys,' &c. &c.

It ought to be said that the Continental governments were taking up money at the same careless rate; but the Continental governments were also careless of tyranny to an extent beyond what the English council could venture on.

'When ye write,' they say, with a sigh of envy, 'of the Emperor taking on interest 14, 15, or 16 upon the 100, we understand that by Jasper Douchy's policy and other means he doth so order the matter that of what interest soever he taketh money, he maketh merchants and others there to bear the burden, and so be to him all one. The which we do not see can be like to the King's Majesty.'—Same to Same: *MSS.* Ibid.

would be made on Boulogne in the summer. The council entreated him to reinforce the garrison, but he was busy with his own projects, and shut his eyes to the peril. The pirate fleet with which Seymour had been connected, amounted now to twenty well-armed vessels. The French government gave them the use of their harbours, and the English traders were pillaged in revenge for the exploits of the privateers. When Flemish ships suffered also, the Emperor held the council in London responsible for the misconduct of its subjects, and the council were obliged to appeal to his forbearance and plead inability to put the pirates down.* Seymour's conspiracy at the same time opened a prospect of creating confusion, by which the French might profit. The Paris government believed that such an enterprise, if it was real, would not have been ventured, unless there had been some secret disaffection more considerable than had come to light; and agents were sent both to England and to Ireland, if possible, to excite a civil war.†

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
April.
The Protector is urged to strengthen the Boulogne garrison, which he neglects to do.

April 17.

* 'If the Emperor shall demand satisfaction for the injuries of his subjects, you must thereunto reply that these pirates be at the least twenty sail now in company together, and among them a great many good soldiers and as expert mariners as any be, which being left in despair, will no doubt continue their former ill lives, robbing and spoiling as they have done, and also of like give ear to the present practices of the French.'—Council to Sir

P. Hoby: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

† They considered, qu'une telle entreprise, sy elle est veritable, n'a peu avoir esté conjurer sans l'intelligence de beaucoup de plus grandes, les quelles ne peuvent avoir esté tous decouverts. Henry sent agents, therefore, afin de mettre de dans le dit Royaulme d'Angleterre s'il estoit possible une guerre civile, et les aviser à se venger les uns

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.

April.

The Emperor is interested in fanning the quarrel between England and France.

Pole warns Somerset that the Emperor will attack England.

The Emperor was struggling with the Interim and the Bologna council. Yet his hostility was sustained uniformly to the extreme of his ability; to save his interests in Italy, it was his object to keep France occupied, and to exasperate, therefore, the English quarrel; and Cardinal Pole took the trouble to write a letter to Somerset, warning him that, when opportunity offered, Charles also would not fail to use it to revenge his own wrongs and the wrongs of the Church;—adding, at the same time, that the Catholic powers had not recognised the legitimacy of a prince who had been born when the kingdom was under an interdict.* The money loans at Antwerp were contracted in the face of an edict prohibiting the exportation of bullion from Flanders. The dealings with the Jews were contraband; and a large sum, as much, it was said, as 40,000*l.* was intercepted and seized on its way to England by the officers of the customs. No provident English statesman could calculate safely on the maintenance of the treaty with the Emperor until England was at peace with France and Charles was again at war with it.

If England was insecure towards the Continent, at home things were on the edge of convulsion. The Enclosures Commission had excited hopes among the people, which parliament had

des autres pour d'autant rendre ses affaires plus faciles, tant du côté d'Ecosse que de celui de deçà. — Documents communicated to Sir Thomas Gresham by

the Regent of the Low Countries: printed by HAYNES.

* Correspondence between the Duke of Somerset and Cardinal Pole: *MS. Domestic*, State Paper Office.

destroyed by refusing to consider their petition; and the fencing and hedging, sanctioned by the determination of the House of Commons, went on more actively than ever. The Catholics were irritated and disturbed by the religious discussions in parliament, and by the change in the services; while even the Protestants were frightened by the wild opinions which were spreading under the shelter of the repeal of the heresy laws.

'How dangerously,' Hooper wrote to Bullinger, 'England is afflicted by heresies, God only knows. There are some who say the soul of a man is no better than the soul of a beast, and is mortal and perishable. There are wretches who dare, in their conventicles, not only to deny that Christ is our Saviour, but to call that blessed Child a mischief-maker and a deceiver. A great part of the country is Popish, and sets at nought God and the magistrates. The people are oppressed by the tyranny of the nobles; England is full of misery.'

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
May.

June.
Wild opinions begin to spread in England.

The Protector could not blind himself to symptoms so broad as these, but he was bent on going his own way, and the obstacles which he encountered made him impatient of advice, imperious, and headstrong. Sir William Paget, by far the ablest man upon the council, and a true friend to Somerset, implored him to be cautious; but he was so violent, that others durst not speak to him at all; and though Paget persevered, it was only to be 'whipped with sharp words.' 'How it cometh to pass I cannot tell,' Paget

The Protector grows irritable, and impatient of advice. He is cautioned by Paget.

CH. 26. wrote at last, 'but of late your Grace is grown into great cholerick fashions whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. A king which shall give men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority as your Grace, in using such fashions, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, besides that to the commonwealth. For the love I bear to your Grace, I beseech you to consider and weigh it well.'*

A.D. 1549.
May.

The Protector peculiarly qualified to make mistakes on a large scale.

With precarious authority and noble intentions, with moderate ability and immoderate ambition to do good, ready to think those only wise who flattered his hopes, and in his eagerness to accomplish great things, neglecting the immediate duties of the day and hour, Somerset was better qualified than most men to wreck his own fortunes and the cause which he attempted to guide. Forsaking those to whose counsel he had bound himself to attend, he had placed himself in the hands of obscure and venal satellites; and corrupt as were the law courts of the day, the court which he had established in his own house managed by such men as these, was probably, but more speciously unjust, while it had the further disadvantage of illegality.†

* Paget to the Protector, May 18, 1549: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vii. State Paper Office.

† Sir John Thynne was said by Paget to have been among the

worst of the Protector's friends. The following story introduces both Thynne and his patron in strange company.

'William Wycherly examined, saith,—

The scheme of policy which he had sketched for himself was sufficiently magnificent. A grand army was to invade Scotland in the summer. The Italian question thickening, Paget

CH. 26.

A. D. 1549.
May.
The Protector will invade France and Scotland.

'That about ten years past he used a rule called Circula Salamonis at a place called Pembersham, in Sussex, to call up Baro, whom he taketh as Oriental or Septentrional spirit; where was also one Robert Bayly, the scryer of the chrystal stone, Sir John Anderson, the magister operator, Sir John Hychely, and Thomas Gosling, in the which practice they had swords, rings, and holy water, when they were frustrated, for Baro did not appear nor other vision of spirit, but there was a terrible wind and tempest all the time of the circulation. And since that time he used no consecrate circule, but hath used the crystal to invoke the sprat called Scariot, which he called divers times into the crystal to have knowledge of things stolen; which sprat hath given him knowledge an hundred time, and thereby men have been restored to their goods. And this practice by the crystal he hath at the command of my Lord Protector executed in the presence of Mr. Thynne, Mr. Whalley, Mr. George Blage, Mr. Chaloner, and Mr. Weldon; and by this means my Lord Protector's plate was found where deponent told his Grace it was hid. He saith that he can invoke the sprat into the crystal glass as soon as any man, but he cannot bind the sprat so soon from lying lies.

'As concerning the sword and

the use thereof, he saith that he hath not used the same, save only about two months past he used holy water and a sword unconsecrated, and therefore ineffectuous, at Hale oak beside Fulham, where they digged for treasure and found none. But as they were working in the feat there came by them alongst the high way a black blind horse, and made deponent and others with him to run their ways.

'He saith that within this se'nnight Humfrey Locke, about Windsor Forest, and one Potter, of St. Clement's parish, without Temple Bar, came to this deponent for a sword and a sceptre going upon joints, which hath been consecrated, and now are polluted, and a ring with the great name of God written thrice tetragrammaton, which this deponent delivered them, and they two with a priest intend at this or next lunation to conjure for treasure hid between Newbury and Reading.

'He saith that about nine years past he did conjure at Yarmouth in the great circule with the sword and the ring consecrated; but nothing appeared unto him, because that an old priest being there, was so sore afraid that he ran away before the spirit called Ambrose Waterduke could appear.

'Sir Robert Bryan, of Highgate, priest, some time an army,

CH. 26. was sent to the Emperor to attempt to persuade him to repeat the policy of 1544; the Protector and Charles were each to enter France at the head of thirty thousand men 'galyardly,' and dictate moderation at Paris. The new Prayer-book was to come into use at Whitsuntide, and the mass—the Jacob's ladder by which for thirty generations the souls of men were supposed to have climbed to heaven—was to be put down and prohibited by law. Simultaneously the two universities were made an arena for a disputation on the real presence, where foreign Protestants were to confound superstition. Heresy becoming so troublesome, a commission was appointed to hunt out and try anabaptists; to examine them, to report on their opinions, and if mild measures of conversion failed, to deliver over the obstinate in the old fashion to the secular arm. Since parliament would not listen to the wrongs of the people, another commission was directed to enforce redress by the acts of Henry, and to accomplish by immediate constraint the restoration of the appropriated lands.

A.D. 1549.
May.

Disputations on the real presence commence at the universities.

Heresy commissions are issued, and Enclosure commissions.

'To alter the state of a realm,' Paget wrote to Sir William Petre, when he heard of all this; 'to

conjureth with a sieve and a pair of shears, invoking St. Paul and St. Peter, and he also useth the Psalter and key. One Croxton's wife, in Golding-lane, occupyeth the sieve and shears, and she only speaketh with the fay-
rayes.

'John Davy, a Welshman, late dwelling at my Lord Protector's

place, is a prophesyer and a great teller of things lost.

'And this deponent sayth that there be within England above 500 conjurors as he thinketh, specially in Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire.'—*Lansdowne MSS.*

British Museum.

alter the state of a realm would ask ten years' deliberation. War abroad and war among ourselves, what prince that understands things would not gladly see one of them at an end ere he enter with us?*" 'Commissions out for that matter,' he wrote again to Somerset, 'new laws for this, proclamations for another, one in another's neck, so thick that they be not set by among the people! Alas! sir, take pity of the king, of your wife, and of your children, and of the conservation and state of the realm, and put no more so many irons in the fire at once.'† But remonstrances were vain as ever. The Oxford and Cambridge schools rang with their unprofitable jargon, and the victory, of course, was ruled to the innovators. The commissioners of religion called up suspected anabaptists. Processions of abjured heretics carried faggots at St. Paul's, and Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, who had views on the incarnation which she refused to abjure, was left in prison waiting further sentence.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
May.

Paget protests.

The Heresy Commission sets to work.

Commissions, arguments which ought to convince, and a prison for those who remained unsatisfied, these, without further trouble, were to establish religion and restore the suffering people to prosperity. The Protector had early notice that success would be less easy than he desired. In reply to his Heresy Commission, a man at St. Ives took a dead cat, which had been lying in the

A dead cat nailed on a post at St. Ives, in answer.

* Paget to Petre: *TITLEY*, vol. i.

† Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

CH. 26. street for a week, 'and did hang it up upon a
 A. D. 1549. post in the open market, the hinder legs cross
 May. nailed, the fore legs spread abroad and nailed,
 the head hanging on the one side, and a paper
 over it.* The Princess Mary, when invited to
 The Prin- receive the Prayer-book, replied that, 'although
 cess Mary the council had forgotten the king, her father,
 refuses the Prayer- and their oaths to observe his will, yet for herself
 book. she would observe his laws as he left them' till
 her brother was of years of discretion.† The
 The pea- peasants, when the commission of enclosures was
 sants level announced in May, took the redress of their
 the en- injuries upon themselves; filled the ditches,
 closures. levelled the hedges, tore down the palings of
 parks, and drove the deer and killed them.

On this last point the Protector came at once
 into open collision with the council. Somerset
 said openly that he 'liked well the doings of
 The Protec- the people;' 'the covetousness of the gentlemen
 tor defends gave occasion to them to rise; it was better they
 them, and fixes a day upon which all new en-
 closures shall be thrown down. closures should be levelled
 on a day which he specified; and by a second,
 immediately following, that no one should be
 vexed or sued for any part which he had taken
 in the riots.‡ The more energetic among the
 lords resolved, in consequence, to act for them-

* Simon Kent to the Bishop
 of Lincoln: *MS. Domestic*,
 Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper
 Office.

† The Lady Mary to — :
 ELLIS, first series, vol. ii.

‡ Articles against the Pro-
 tector: printed by HOLINSHEAD.

selves: they dispersed about the country; sheriffs and magistrates were directed by them to prosecute all disturbers of the peace by the sword; and if any of the people 'should be departed from their houses to any assembly for unlawful purposes, to spoil and rifle their houses, to their utter ruin and destruction, and the terrible example of others.'* Sir William Herbert, whose own parks had been invaded, attacked the rioters in person, and cut some of them in pieces.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
May.
The council
act for
themselves.

At this crisis news came from the western counties which exposed the weakness of the hopes with which Somerset was cheating himself. A religious insurrection he had believed to be impossible. He had been persuaded that the masses of the people sympathized with the changes which he was introducing. He had confounded a contented acquiescence in the separation from the Pope with an approval of innovations upon the creed.

It has been mentioned that a government commissioner was murdered in the summer of 1548 in Cornwall. The Cornishmen had been neither conciliated nor terrified by the executions with which the crime was avenged; an organized spirit of disaffection silently spread, and Sir Humfrey Arundel, of St. Michael's Mount, and Boyer, the mayor of Bodmin, were the intended leaders of a meditated rebellion. A second Pilgrimage of Grace was about to be enacted in

Disturb-
ances com-
mence in
Cornwall.

* Proclamation of the Council on the Outbreak of the Rebellion:
MS. Domestic, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

CH. 26. England; the reader will observe, in the altered features assumed by the insurrection, the changes which had passed over the country.

A.D. 1549.
June.

June 9.
The villagers at Sampford Courtenay, in Devonshire, compel the priest to sing mass.

The flame first kindled in the adjoining county. The English liturgy was read in all churches for the first time on Whit-Sunday, the 9th of June, 1549. On Whit-Monday the priest of Sampford Courtenay, a village on the slopes of Dartmoor, in Devonshire, was going into church for morning prayers, when a group of his parishioners gathered about him, asking what service he would use. The priest said that he must go by the law. The men answered they would have none of the new fashions; they would have the old religion of their fathers, as King Henry VIII. by his last will and testament had ordained.* The priest yielded willingly to compulsion. He put on his cope and vestments, and said mass in Latin, 'the common people all the country round clapping their hands for joy.'†

The magistrates are unable or unwilling to act.

The neighbouring magistrates came the day after to make inquiries. The villagers collected with bows and pikes; and, after an armed conference, the magistrates, 'afraid of their shadows,' or in their hearts agreeing with the popular feeling, withdrew without further interference.

* It is singular that a belief prevailed in all classes that Henry had forbidden by his will that any change should be made during the minority in Religion. Even Mary, as we have seen, shared it. The Protector was

punished for his want of openness. He had made the will a mystery because it was inconvenient that the world should know that he had altered the disposition of the government.

† HOLINSHED.

The successful example was not long unimitated. CH. 26.
In the same week, or within a few days, the
wave of resistance swept over the country west
of Exeter, meeting on the Tamar a similar
movement swelling upwards from Cornwall. Of
all the council Lord Russell was most closely con-
nected with Devonshire. To Russell had fallen
the domains of the abbey of Tavistock; St.
Mary's Clyst, and part of Exeter itself belonged to
him. Russell had commanded the musters of the
county in the French war; and when the news
of the commotion reached London, Russell was
chosen to put an end to it. Being prevented from
setting out on the instant, Sir Peter and Sir
Gawen Carew,* who were at the court, went down
before him, carrying private orders from the
council, unknown to the Protector, to put the
disturbance down promptly and sternly. On
reaching Exeter they learnt that the rebels, now
openly in arms, were assembled in force, seven
miles off, at Crediton. The Carews collected a
party of horse, set out for the place without

A.D. 1549.
June.
The move-
ment
spread,
and Corn-
wall and
part of De-
vonshire
rise.

Lord Rus-
sell is com-
missioned
to restore
order.

* The Carews of Mohuns Ottery were among the oldest of the Devonshire families. Sir Peter, after a wild boyhood, ran away to France, and took service as page with a nobleman at the court of Francis the First. Being recognised by one of his father's friends, who was at Paris on an embassy, he was brought to London, where his gallant bearing recommended him to Henry VIII. He rose in favour; he served in

the war under Sir John Wallop with high distinction, and afterwards inherited the family property between Exeter and Honiton. His brother, Sir Gawen, had Tiverton Castle. Minute descriptions of both Tiverton and Mohuns Ottery are in the State Paper Office. The latter was described as impregnable, except by cannon, and the furniture of the rooms would even now be considered magnificent.

CH. 26. delay, and on approaching the town found the streets barricaded and trenches cut across the roads. They dismounted and went forward on foot. On arriving at the first barricade, they were challenged, stopped, and told that they should not pass unless unarmed and alone. Sir Peter, accustomed to cross swords with the French chivalry, was not to be daunted by village churls; he charged the barricade, and was met with a shower of arrows and balls. The annoyance came chiefly from a row of barns at the end of the street, which were occupied by matchlock men. It was a difficulty which a wisp of straw would best remove; the thatch was lighted, and when the smoke and the blaze had cleared away, the assailants found the road open, but the town deserted, and the rebels scattered in the open country, where they could not reach them. At once the cry spread everywhere that the gentlemen were destroying the commons. 'The barns of Crediton' became a gathering word, and a flaming beacon of insurrection; and the Carews returned to Exeter only to learn that the commotion had broken out close at hand, almost within sight of the walls.

A. D. 1549.
June.
Sir Peter
Carew at-
tacks Cre-
diton,

And sets
some farm
buildings
on fire.

Walter Ra-
leigh and
the old
woman at
St. Mary's
Clyst.

The day happened to be a holyday. Walter Raleigh, of Budleigh Salterton,* was riding home from the city; his road led through St. Mary's Clyst, a village two miles from Exeter, towards Topsham; and on the way he passed an old woman going to church, who was telling her

* Father of Sir Walter, who was not yet born.

beads. Raleigh, a sea-going man,* and, like most men of his calling, inclined to novelties, told her she must leave her follies alone now; times were changed, and the law was changed; she must live like a Christian woman, or it would be the worse for her. The old woman tottered on to the parish church, where service had begun when she entered; and 'she, being impatient and in an agony with the speeches past between her and the gentleman, began to upbraid in the open church very hard and unseemly speeches concerning religion.'† 'Ye must leave beads now, she screamed; 'no more holy bread for ye, nor holy water. It is all gone from us or to go, or the gentlemen will burn your houses over your heads.' About the same hour the Crediton barns were blazing. The villagers dashed out of the church; some cut down trees, and barricaded the bridge towards Exeter; others ran down to Topsham, and fetched cannon from the vessels at the quay. They overtook Raleigh on the road, seized him, and roughly handled him. The Walter of English fame might never have existed, had not 'certain mariners' come to the rescue.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
June.The villa-
gers of St.
Mary's
Clyst rise.

Carew, after a night's consultation with the city magistrates, was on his horse at daybreak, with his brother. They galloped with their followers to Clyst, and were forcing their way

Sir Peter
Carew at-
tempts to
put them
down,

* He was the owner of one or more armed ships, popular among sailors, and probably, therefore, not unacquainted with privateering.

† Narrative of Mr. Hooker of Exeter — *oculatus testis*, as he calls himself: printed by HO-
LINSHEAD.

CH. 26. over the bridge, when a gunner, 'in malice at
 4.D. 1549. Sir Peter for religion, and for the barns at
 June. Crediton,' blew the match of a cannon that swept
 the road. He was prevented from firing by a
 comrade; but a parley followed—an Exeter
 alderman was allowed to enter the village alone,
 to hear the people's complaints; while the
 Carews rode fretfully up and down the river
 banks, probing the mud with their lances to find
 footing for their horses. All day long the alder-
 man remained among the rioters. Sir Peter
 would at last have dashed through at all hazards,
 had not his own people mutinied at his back.
 Chafing with indignation, he was obliged to
 return to the city; and at night his companions,
 with others of the corporation, appeared to tell
 him that there would be no quiet in Devonshire
 unless the council would leave religion as it had
 been ordered by Henry.

And does
 not suc-
 ceed.

The Corn-
 ish men
 march to-
 wards Exe-
 ter, and the
 whole
 country
 breaks into
 rebellion.

Sir Peter, in a rage, called the citizens traitors
 and poltroons. He would raise the force of the
 county, he said. He would call every loyal
 gentleman to his standard, and slash the rebel
 dogs into their senses. When the morning
 came he learnt that it was easier to say this
 than do it. Ten thousand Cornish were in
 full march from the Tamar. The roads round
 Exeter were beset; Walter Raleigh was again
 a prisoner; and the gentlemen were everywhere
 hiding for their lives in 'woods and caves.'
 There was nothing left for him but to escape and
 warn Russell. The mayor and aldermen, al-
 though they hated the religious changes as

heartily as the rebels, promised to hold the city for the king as long as they had provisions to keep them alive. Carew made his way through by-lanes and paths into Somersetshire.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
June.

Unsettled as the country was everywhere becoming, the dimensions which the insurrection might assume were now altogether uncertain. Russell had reached Taunton, but he had no force with him adequate to the emergency. He directed Carew to hasten with his best speed to the court, and make his report to the council. He himself went on to Honiton, intending to wait there for his reinforcements. Should Exeter fall meanwhile, and the rebels advance, he would retire on Sherborne and Salisbury.

Sir Peter
Carew flies
to Lord
Russell at
Taunton.

Russell
sends him
back to the
court for
assistance.

Exasperated at his own mistake, disappointed at the interference with his plans which he foresaw must flow from the confusion, Somerset, when Sir Peter arrived, overwhelmed him with reproaches. Carew's violence, the Protector chose to think, had changed a riot into a rebellion, and Carew only was to blame. Sir Peter produced his orders, which it appears had been signed by Edward. The chancellor said a royal command was valueless without the great seal; the rest of the council stood by their own act, and high language was used on all sides. The Protector had considered himself a king all but in name;* but his royalty was a child of sunshine, and shade was fatal to it. It soon enough became clear that the causes of the

Somerset
reproaches
Carew with
being the
cause of the
disturb-
ances.

The council
support
Carew.

* Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, vol. viii. Edward VI. It is noticeable that

in the preamble of a private act passed in the late session, referring to the demise of certain of

CH. 26. rebellion lay deeper than the mistake of a single person. Posts came in one after the other with news that all England was stirring. Yorkshire was up; Northamptonshire was up; Norfolk and Suffolk were up. Peter Martyr and the Oxford controversy had set on fire Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The enclosures, the high prices, the change in religion, worked one upon the other, and the Protector found that he either must relinquish the Reformation, or lose the title of the people's friend. The many grievances were massed together inseparably; and the army of foreign mercenaries, which he had collected for the invasion of Scotland, he must either permit to be used to crush the commons in a quarrel, to which, so far as the land was concerned, he had himself encouraged them; or he must take their side against the gentlemen, put himself at their head in a servile war, and give them back their mass.

A.D. 1549.
June.
England
rises in all
directions,

And the
Protector
is in a
dilemma.

The wes-
tern insur-
gents send
up their
demands.

The demands of the western insurgents, in a special form, followed close on Carew's arrival. The English service had been either studiously made ridiculous in the manner in which it was performed by the unwilling clergy, or the people had been taught to believe that it was something half profane, half devilish. The new communion, strangely, was thought, like the love-feasts of the Gnostics, to be intended as an instigation to

his lands, the Protector styles himself 'The Right Excellent Prince Edward, Duke of So-
mers.' — 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 12.

profligacy.* In fifteen articles the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall required the restoration of the Catholic faith and the extinction of Protestantism with fire and sword.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
June.

1. 'We will have,' thus imperiously their petition was worded, all the general councils and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept, and performed, and whosoever shall gainsay them, we hold them as heretics.

2. We will have the laws of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII. concerning the six articles to be used again, as in his time they were.

They will have the mass restored, heresy put down, and religion replaced as Henry VIII. left it.

3. We will have the mass in Latin, as it was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him.

4. We will have the sacrament hung over the high altar, and thus be worshipped as it was wont to be, and they which will not thereunto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy Catholic faith.

5. We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the people, and then but in one kind.

6. We will that our curate shall minister the

* 'Doth receiving the communion either make matrimony or give authority and license to whoredom? Did not men and women always heretofore go to God's board, and receive together and all at one time as they do now; and did ever men think that they that did so should be in common?'—Answer of the

Protector to the Rebels in the West: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office. Mr. Tytler has printed the greater part of the paper from which the above passage is an extract. The passage itself, strange to say, he has omitted.

CH. 26. sacrament of baptism at all times, as well on the week days as on the holydays.

A.D. 1549.
June.

7. We will have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palms and ashes at the time accustomed, images to be set up again in every church, and all other ancient ceremonies held heretofore by our Mother Holy Church.

The images shall be put up again. The Bible shall be burnt.

8. We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game. We will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song and procession as it was before; and we the Cornishmen, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse the new English.

9. We will have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at the mass, pray, especially by name, for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did.

10. We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again, for we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.

11. We will have Doctor Moreman and Doctor Crispin,* which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us, and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain livings to preach among us our Catholic faith.

Cardinal Pole shall be allowed to return to England.

12. We think it meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the king's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for

* Priests described by Cranmer as men of 'notable craft, wilfulness, and dissimulation.' They had perhaps been concerned in the disturbance of 1548.

from Rome, and promoted to be of the king's council. CH. 26.

13. We will that no gentleman shall have any more servants than one to wait upon him, except he may dispend a hundred mark land, and for every hundred marks we think it reasonable that he should have a man.

A.D. 1549.
June.
And the households of the gentlemen shall be cut down.

14. We will that the half part of the abbey lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to the places where two of the chief abbeyes were within every county where such half part shall be taken out; and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shall pray for the King and the Commonwealth. And to the same we will have all the alms of the church box given for seven years.

The abbey lands shall be partially appropriated to religious uses.

15. For the particular griefs of our country, we will have them so ordered as Humfrey Arundel and Henry Boyer, the king's Mayor of Bodmin, shall inform the King's Majesty, if they may have safe conduct in the king's great seal to pass and repass with an herald-of-arms.*

While the western rebels were demanding a return to Catholicism, those in the eastern counties were inclining to anabaptism; but in

* Demands of the Rebels, printed in STYVE'S *Cranmer*. Another set, differently worded, but to the same purpose, is given by Holinshed. There is an additional demand among the latter that the clergy should

be prohibited from marrying. From other quarters there must have been more, which are lost, and to some of which the Protector's defence of the communion service must have been directed.

CH. 26. the one and the other, and in fact all over Eng-
 land, were the two elements of discontent, which
 A.D. 1549- the Protector would so gladly have separated.
 June. If he maintained the Act of Uniformity, he must
 put down the demonstration against the gentle-
 men. If he hesitated, he must encourage heresy
 or reaction, or both.

The Pro-
 tector
 issues more
 commis-
 sions.

The Prin-
 cess Mary
 reported to
 have sanc-
 tioned the
 rebellion,
 which she
 haughtily
 denies.

A ruler strong enough to cope with embarrass-
 ments so complicated would not have allowed
 them to occur. Beset on all sides, and not know-
 ing what to do, he wrote letters, issued proclama-
 tions, and appointed commissions. For the relief
 of the poor, he set out a tariff of prices for the
 necessaries of life, as if the condition of the
 country would permit the enforcement of it. One
 only feature was wanting in the confusion. It
 was announced that the Princess Mary had
 sanctioned the rebellion, and that her chaplains
 were among the insurgents at Exeter.* Had
 she yielded to the temptation, she would perhaps
 have overturned her brother's throne. The Pro-
 tector wrote to her: he told her what was
 generally said; and though he did not doubt her
 loyalty, 'her proceedings in matters of religion
 being openly known, had given no small courage
 to the rebels.' Mary answered with haughty
 brevity that, if the realm was in disorder, the
 fault was not with her. Neither she nor any of

* Illud de Mario vel Marianis
 me valde angit immo prope ex-
 animat. Faxit Deus optimus
 maximus pro sua clementia
 malum id avertat.—Sir Thomas

Smith to Cecil: TITLER, vol. i.
 The meaning is scarcely disguised
 under the masculine termina-
 tion.

her household had been in communication with CH. 26.
the insurgents directly or indirectly.*

Mary had refused conformity, and Somerset did not dare to insist upon it. Prudent for once, he gave her licence to use her own services at her pleasure. But, to quiet the country, he could expect neither countenance nor assistance from her, and resources in himself he had none. The council demanded that circulars should be directed to all noblemen and gentlemen, calling on them to arm their servants and tenants; to apprehend as they could all disturbers, and unite to enforce order. A circular was issued, but so vague in its terms that no one dared to act upon it.†

Sir William Paget, who was still abroad, in a clear and powerful letter, sketched a course for the Protector to follow. 'In Germany,' he said, referring to the peasant wars, 'when the very like tumult to this began first, it might have been appeased with the loss of twenty men; and after that with the loss of a hundred or two hundred; but it was thought nothing. And also some spiced consciences, taking pity of the poor—who, indeed, knew not what pity was, nor who were the poor—thought it a sore matter to lose so many of their even Christians, saying they were simple folks, and wist not what the matter meant, and were of a godly knowledge: and after

A. D. 1549.
June.

The council urge the Protector to energetic measures of repression.

Sir William Paget sketches a course of policy for him.

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

† 'On my life, if my Lord's Grace would give authority to any one man to execute the procla-

mations, this whole shire shall be quiet. When the proclamations be directed so generally, every man looketh upon another.' — Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil.

CH. 26. this sort, and by such womanly pity and fond persuasion, suffered the matter to go so far, as it cost, ere it was appeased, they say, a hundred thousand, but I know by credible report of some that were at it, at least threescore thousand men's lives. Likewise our business may, peradventure, at the worst, if resistance should be made, cost a thousand or two thousand men's lives. By St. Mary, better so than no. And therefore, sir, go to it betimes. Send for all the council that be remaining unsent abroad; and for because there are a good many of the best absent, call to your Grace to council for this matter six of the gravest and most experimented men of the realm, and consider what is best to be done, and follow their advice. Send for your Almayn horsemen; send for Lord Ferrys, and Sir Wm. Herbert, to bring you as many horsemen of such as they dare trust out of Wales. Let the Earl of Shrewsbury bring the like out of Shropshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, of his servants and keepers of forests and parks. Go yourself, accompanied with the said noblemen and their companies; and appoint the Chief Justices of England, three or four of them to resort, with commission of oyer and terminer, to that good town which shall be next to the place where your Grace shall remain. Attach to the number of twenty or thirty of the rankest knaves of the shire. Let six be hanged of the ripest of them, the rest remain in prison. And thus, sir, make a progress this hot weather, till you have perused all those shires that have offended. Your Grace may say you shall lose

A.D. 1549.
June.
If he desires to save bloodshed, let him be quick, prompt, and consistent,

Put down the rebellion instantly, make an armed progress, and punish the principal offenders.

the hearts of the people; of the good people you shall not—of the ill it maketh no matter.*

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
July.

When the Protector received this letter, the danger was so imminent that he was obliged to send orders to Staines to break the bridge over the Thames, for fear of an attack on London.† Yet in the crisis of the peril he sent out another of his unlucky enclosure commissions, with circulars, insisting that every gentleman on his own estate should ‘reform himself before proceeding to the redress of others;’ and throw down his hedges and embankments. ‘Put the rebellion down first,’ was the advice of Paget, and let the enclosers smart for it afterwards. But the Protector could not draw his sword against men whose cause he considered partially just. The Commons were driven to madness by the tyranny of the gentlemen and the lords—was he to arm the oppressors with authority to destroy men for whose crimes they were themselves responsible?

The Protector orders the gentlemen to reform themselves before they reform the people.

At length, however, the religious element in the insurrection became, in the counties west of London, more and more preponderating. Somerset’s indecision so far came to an end that he allowed the council to take their own course. As the treasury was unfurnished, the lords‡ emptied their

But the council take the matter into their own hands,

* Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office. Printed in *STEELE’S Memorials*, vol. iv.

† *MS. Ibid.* vol. vi.

‡ Before the rebellion was finally over, Herbert, Warwick, Russell, Arundel, Southampton, Dorset, Paget, Lord Wentworth,

Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Darcy, Huntingdon, Clinton, Cobham, and the Duchess of Richmond, subscribed among themselves something about a hundred thousand pounds. The account is drawn out in the hand of Sir Thomas Smith.—*MS. Harleian*, 660.

subscribe money, and disperse the troops.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
July.

The Protector remains in London to persecute Bonner.

own plate chests, sold their jewels, raised money by every possible shift. Northampton set off with fifteen hundred men to Norfolk. Lord Grey de Wilton with the Lanzknechts went westward, taking Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in his route, to join Russell. Sir William Herbert made for Wales, to raise the force of the Borders, and march to Exeter across the Somersetshire flats. The Protector remained at the Court to use severity where his conscience permitted him. The Bishop of London had resisted to the last in the House of Lords the alteration of the services. He had not ventured to interfere with the introduction of the Prayer-book into his diocese, but it was observed that he had never officiated in English—that ‘in London and elsewhere he was reported to frequent foreign rites and masses such as were not allowed by the order of the realm, contemning and forbearing to praise and pray to God after such rite and ceremony as was appointed.’ He was commanded, therefore, to reside permanently in his house in London, under the eye of the authorities—to discharge in person all duties belonging to his office, and especially, under pain of being deprived and of incurring such other punishment as the law should direct, to preach a sermon which should be a satisfactory account of his opinions on the following points. He was to prove—

Here requires Bonner to preach a sermon condemning the religious insurrection,

1. That all persons rebelling against their sovereign thereby incurred damnation.

2. Therefore, that the English rebels, specially those of Cornwall and Devonshire, ‘were incur-

ring damnation ever to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of disobedience—what masses or holy water soever they went about to pretend.’

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
July.

3. That ‘Korah, Dathan, and Abiram pretended religion, and were swallowed up quick in hell’—that Saul was rejected for saving the sheep from sacrifice—that disobedience and rebellion, under any plea whatsoever, were hateful to God.

And accusing the insurgents of committing the sin of Korah.

4. That vital religion consisted only in prayer to God—that rites, forms, and ceremonies were but the dress, or outward costume, which the magistrate might change at his pleasure—that if any man, therefore, persisted any longer in using the Latin service, his devotion was made valueless by the disobedience involved in the practice.*

The outward and silent submission of the subject to usages of which he disapproves may, under certain circumstances, be legitimately demanded; his allegiance to his sovereign and country is the only question on which he may be required to declare his private opinion. The Bishop of London was invited to teach what he was known not to believe. If he complied, his character was forfeited. If he refused, his person was at the mercy of the government. It was a repetition of the treatment of Gardiner, and the result was the same. He was held not to have given satisfaction; he was insolent on

Bonner fails to give satisfaction, and is imprisoned.

* Orders of the Crown to Bonner, Bishop of London: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

CH. 26. his examination; and he was imprisoned for the remainder of the reign. The story will now follow Lord Grey.

A.D. 1549.
July.

Lord Grey restores order in Oxfordshire, and hangs offending priests on the church towers.

Round Oxford the parish priests had been excited by the theological controversies on the eucharist. They had communicated their irritation to the yeomen and labourers, and the county was in disorder. But the people had no organization which would resist regular troops, and punishment was reserved chiefly for their instigators. The rope was introduced to give force to the arguments of Peter Martyr, and far and wide among the villages the bodies of the rectors and vicars were dangled from their church towers.* The bells,† which had been used to rouse the peasants, were taken down and sold for the benefit of the government, 'leaving one only of the smallest size' to tinkle feebly for the English prayers.

Having restored order in Oxfordshire, Grey hastened on to Honiton, where his coming was anxiously looked for.

The siege of Exeter.

Lord Russell had waited, unable to move, till the few gentlemen who had collected about him dropped away, as day passed after day and brought no help. On the 2nd of July the insurgent army, for so it might now be called, appeared in force before Exeter. Elsewhere the rising was exclusively among the small farmers and the pea-

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

† I have found no especial directions for the Oxfordshire bells, but there was a general

order of council, applying to all the disturbed districts, and there was no reason why Oxfordshire should be spared.

santry. In the west, where the religious grounds of discontent were stronger than the social, it had affected a higher grade, and Sir Thomas Pomeroy, and Sir Humfrey Arundel, Coffin of the north of Devon, and other men of weight and property, were among the leaders of an organized force twenty thousand strong, which, armed, disciplined, and provided with cannon, were collected under the banner of the cross. After taking possession of Exeter, they intended to march on towards London, raising the country as they went; and when they summoned the inhabitants to surrender, they expected immediate compliance and co-operation. In the city two violent factions, a Catholic and a Protestant, were divided by a large middle party, who, though conservative in religion, were loyal to law and order—who had no love for religious changes, but had less for treason and insurrection. In their names, and with their support, in spite of a demonstration from the Catholics, Blackhall the Mayor kept his promise to Carew. The gates were barred and barricaded; the tradesmen were turned into a garrison. If the rebels desired to enter Exeter, they were told that they must find their own road into it.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
July.

The rebels, 20,000 strong, surround the city, and require the mayor to surrender.

The mayor refuses, and the rebels form the siege.

Insurrections, to be successful, must be rapid. Had Arundel left Exeter to its fate, and gone forward, there was no force between him and London which he could not have overwhelmed; but a few days, he supposed, would be the utmost that an unfortified city could resist, and he waited to besiege it. The approaches were occupied—the pipes which carried water into the city were cut—cannon, small, probably, and ill-served, were fired incessantly.

The water is cut off, and the city fired upon.

CH. 26. santly upon the houses—the gates were undermined, and a continual correspondence was maintained between the rebels and the disaffected party among the citizens, who gained strength as the

A.D. 1549.
July.

The friends of the rebels among the citizens attempt to compel a surrender.

The mayor keeps the peace, and levies a rate for the support of the poor.

provisions began to run low. So daring and so violent became the Catholics at last, that they met in arms at the Guildhall to insist on a capitulation; 'Richard Tailor, a clothier, drew his bow and shot an arrow' at some reforming zealot; and they paraded the streets in procession crying out 'Come out, you heretics; where be these twopenny bookmen; by God's wounds and blood, we will not be penned in to serve their turn; we will go out and have in our neighbours; they be honest and good men.' Nevertheless, the mayor persevered. A hundred of the principal householders agreed to stand by him to the last, and by skill and steadiness he kept the peace. The conduits were well supplied, and the summer was happily wet. A rate was levied for the support of the poor, which rose as prices rose; and so long as there was food within the walls, even the prisoners in the gaol received their fair share with the rest. Skirmishing parties occasionally swept in droves of cattle from the adjoining meadows by sudden sallies. As the rebels mined, the citizens countermined. Where the assailants were suspected to be at work, an adroit engineer detected their presence underground by the vibration of a pan of water above their heads, and they were blown up or drowned in their holes.

A blockaded town, however, could not resist

for ever. The mayor held on for six weeks; he then felt that he had done his utmost, and he had made up his mind with his friends to cut his way through the besiegers and escape, when news came that relief was at hand.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.

July.

He holds out for six weeks, when he hears that relief is at hand.

Russell had been stationary at Honiton from the middle of June to the middle of July. In the last fortnight rumours came from day to day that the city was taken, that Arundel was advancing, that Wiltshire had risen in his rear. Being at last almost alone, he was retiring in despair, and had reached Sherborne, when Carew, returning from London, brought the welcome information of the advance of Lord Grey. With revived spirits Russell now raised money among the merchants at Bristol and Taunton. The Carews collected their tenants, stirred the gentlemen of Dorsetshire, and brought together a few companies of horse. The promise of action of some kind put an end to the paralysis which had been caused by the apathy of the Protector, and the waverers and the timid came forward with their services.

Russell, unsupported, had retired from Honiton to Sherborne.

Carew rejoins him with news of the approach of Grey.

Honiton was made again the rallying point; and a tolerable force was soon in arms there. As soon as Grey should come, the intention was to go forward immediately and fight a battle under the walls of Exeter. The rebels, however, were by this time conscious that they were losing their opportunity. Hearing of Russell's return and of his expected reinforcements, they determined to anticipate his attack. On the 27th of July scouts brought in information that a body of

He returns to Honiton. Collects men and money.

CH. 26. Cornishmen were three miles off at Fenington Bridge. Their numbers were increasing, and they might be hourly looked for at Honiton. A council of war was held; when, Sir Peter, as usual, was for an instant fight. His advice was taken: with as many men as he could bring together, Russell went in search of the enemy, whom he found to the number of a few hundred encamped in a meadow across the water below the bridge, waiting for a fresh detachment which had not yet arrived.

A.D. 1549.
July.
A body of
rebels ad-
vance to
Fenington
Bridge.

A skirmish,
with loss on
both sides.
Grey ar-
rives with
reinforce-
ments,

A few trees formed a barricade at the bridge, which was defended by a party of archers and matchlock men. The Carews, ever foremost, leapt their horses over the fence, and, after some hard fighting, in which Sir Gawen was shot through the arm, the road was cleared. Lord Russell passed over, and the skirmish became general. The Cornish at last giving way, discipline, as might be expected among such troops as Russell had with him, came to an end. They scattered, looking for spoil; and in this condition were caught by the second body of insurgents, who came up at the moment. They suffered severely; many were cut to pieces, the rest extricated themselves after a fierce struggle, rallied again, and finally drove the Cornish off the field, leaving three hundred of their number dead; but Russell's loss was perhaps as great as that of the rebels, and he returned to Honiton in haste, not without fear of being intercepted.

It was perhaps the report of this business which decided Blackhall on surrendering. But

two or three days after, Grey finally arrived, bringing with him the Lanzknechts, three hundred Italian musketeers, and some tolerable artillery. Grey's whole force was not more than a thousand, but it was formed of professional soldiers who understood their business, and with them the advance must at all hazards be ventured. Herbert with the Welsh was reported to be at no great distance, but Exeter was in extremity, and to lose it might be to lose everything.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
July.And reports
that Sir
Wm. Her-
bert is
coming
after him.

On Saturday the 3rd of August, therefore, the little army marched out of Honiton. To avoid a battle where they could not choose their ground, they left the road, crossed the open hills behind Ottery St. Mary, and in the evening of the same day were on the heath—or what was a heath in those days—above St. Mary's Clyst, two miles from Topsham. Among the peasantry the irritation was justly turned to madness when they knew that foreign mercenaries were brought in to crush them. Never before had English rulers used the arms of strangers against English subjects; and no sooner were their columns in sight, than the villagers of Clyst rushed up in rage to fall upon them. One could wish that the better cause had found the better defenders. The half-armed Devonshire peasants were poorly matched against trained and disciplined troops. Few who went up the hill came back again; they fell in the summer gloaming, like stout-hearted, valiant men, for their hearths and altars; and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, preached a

August 3.

Grey and
Russell
approach
Exeter.Evening
skirmish
at St.
Mary's
Clyst.

CH. 26. thanksgiving sermon among their bodies as they
 lay with stiffening limbs with their faces to the
 stars.

A.D. 1549.
 August 3.

The insur-
 gent army
 collecta.

So far, however, Russell had encountered but straggling detachments or handfuls of exasperated labourers. He had keener work before him. As the preacher's last words died away, the shouts and cries of the gathering insurgents swayed through the night air. Too late for the skirmish, the force which had been watching the roads to intercept his advance was now swarming thick into Clyst, and before day broke six thousand resolute men were in the village under the hill. The odds of numbers were heavy, but at all risks a battle must be ventured.

The battle
 of St.
 Mary's
 Clyst.

Russell's
 troops at-
 tack the
 village, and
 are driven
 back, and
 lose their
 guns.

Sunday morning at sunrise the trumpet sounded, and the king's troops were on the move. The advance was slow. Felled trees lay across the lanes, with trenches behind and between them. It was nine o'clock before the road was open into the village; when the English horse, led by Sir William Francis, pushed on, followed close by Russell and Grey. The main body of the rebels were drawn up on the village green. As they came in sight, the horse went at them at a gallop, to break their ranks in the first rush; but the houses and walls on each side were lined with archers, whose arrows told fatally at close quarters. At the back of the village there was a thick furze brake, from which Sir Thomas Pomeroy started out unlooked for, and fell upon the Lanzknechts; and, believing themselves surrounded, Germans, Italians, English, all in con-

fusion, together fell back, and were driven in panic up the hill to their camp. Every foreigner who fell out of rank was instantly killed. 'Abhorred of our party,' says Hooker, who was present, 'they were nothing favoured of the other;' and the chase was so hot, that Russell's cannon, ammunition-waggon, shot, powder, were taken and carried off into Clyst.

For the moment all seemed lost, but the troops rallied on the heath, and again charged, and the insurgents in turn recoiled. The fight rolled down once more into the village, and this time the houses were set on fire, and the archers driven from their covers. The horse a second time attempted to ride down the people. Francis was killed, and the struggle was long and obstinate; but the fire, and the smoke, and the Italian muskets, gave the victory to Russell, and, once broken, the rebels scattered in all directions. The river towards Exeter, which runs up from Topsham, was by this time filled with the tide. Some were cut down on the water-side, some were drowned in attempting to cross, some were burnt in the village; altogether a thousand were killed, besides an unknown number who surrendered.

The bridge was still in the insurgents' hands. They had cannon upon it, and it could not be taken in front without loss; but a party of Grey's horse found a ford where they could cross, and, dashing through the water, came on the gunners from behind and sabred them. The road was then cleared, and Grey himself went for-

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August 4.

They advance again, and are successful.

The insurgents defeated with great slaughter.

CH. 26. ward to a rising ground which commanded the
 A.D. 1549. scene through which they had fought their way.
 August 4. Seeing, or believing that he saw, parties of the
 enemy again collecting in force in the rear, he
 sent word to Russell to be on his guard; and
 as a precaution which the peril of so small an
 army might have seemed to justify, the prisoners
 were put to the sword.* But so long as daylight
 continued there was further attack. The foot
 followed the horse over the water and encamped.

The prison-
 ers are put
 to the
 sword.

August 5.
 Second de-
 feat of the
 rebels.

In the night they were fired on from the hills.
 The next day, Monday, there was again a battle,
 and Grey, who had led the charge on the Scotch
 infantry at Musselburgh, said that 'such was
 the valour and the stoutness of the men, that
 he never, in all the wars he had been in, did
 know the like.' But the disproportion of num-
 bers seems to have been less than before. Rus-
 sell on this occasion was able to surround the
 enemy and prevent their retreat, and the fight
 ended in a general massacre.

August 6.
 Russell
 raises the
 siege of
 Exeter.

The danger was now over. Monday night the
 army rested at Topsham; on Tuesday morning,
 August the 6th, the red dragon was floating on
 the walls of Exeter, the city was open, and the
 lean faces of the inhabitants lighted with hopes
 of food. The rebels were gone. The same day
 Sir William Herbert came up with a thousand
 Welsh mountaineers, 'too late for the work, but
 soon enough for the play,' 'for the whole country

Sir Wm.
 Herbert
 arrives,
 and the
 country is
 put to pil-
 lage.

* Hooker, an eye-witness, is the unexceptionable authority for this savage incident. The re-venge of the Italians and Germans was perhaps in some way connected with it.

was put to the spoil, and every soldier fought for his best profit.' The services of the mountain cattle-lifters were made valuable to Exeter; for the city, 'being destitute of victuals,' was, 'by their special industry, provided in two days.' An order of council had fixed the wages of the horse employed on this service at tenpence a-day, and those of the foot at the usual sixpence, sufficient for their necessities without granting them licence of pillage; but it was desired to impress on the country the consequences of insurrection: spoil kept the foreign troops in good humour; and the promise of wages was not always the payment of them.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
August 6.

The ill-treatment of the people, however, served to keep alive the ill-humour; and the Cornish falling back towards Dartmoor, made a stand when beyond the risk of immediate attack.

Arundel, Pomeroy, Underhill, and others of the leaders held together, and in a few days news came that some thousand of the insurgents were still in arms at Sampford Courtenay. The fire was extinguished at the scene where it was first kindled. The battle which finally gave peace and reformation to the western counties, may be described in the dispatch of Lord Russell himself:—

The insurgents rally at Sampford Courtenay.

'On Friday, August 15,' he reported, 'we marched from Exeter to Crediton, seven miles off. The way was very cumbrous, and therefore that day we went no further. On Saturday we marched towards the camp at Sampford Courtenay, and by the way our scouts and the rebel scouts encountered upon the Sunday on the

August 15.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August 17.
Where they
are finally
attacked
and de-
feated.

sudden; and in a skirmish between them was one Maunders taken, who was one of their chief captains. Order was given to my Lord Grey and to Mr. Herbert, for the winning of time, to take a good part of the army, and with the same to make with all diligence possible towards the said camp, to view and see what service might be done for the invasion thereof. They found the rebels strongly encamped, as well by the seat of the ground as by the entrenching of the same. They kept them in play with great ordnance till more convenient way was made by the pioneers; which done, they were assaulted with good courage—on the one side with our footmen, on the other with the Italian harquebutters, in such sort as it was not long before they turned their backs and recovered the town which they before had fortified for all events. While this was doing, and I was yet behind with the residue of the army conducting the carriage, Humfrey Arundel with his whole power came on the backs of our forewards, being thus busied with the assault of the camp. The sudden show of whom wrought such fear in the hearts of our men, as we wished our powers a great deal more, not without cause; in remedy whereof the Lord Grey was forced to leave Mr. Herbert at the enterprise against the camp, and to retire to our last horsemen and footmen, whom he caused to turn their faces to the enemies in the shew of battle.

‘Against Arundel was nothing for one hour but shooting of ordnance to and fro. Mr. Herbert

in the meantime followed the first attempt, who, pressing still upon them, never breathed till he had driven them to a plain flight. To the chase came fresh horsemen and footmen; in the which were slain five or six hundred of the rebels, and among them was slain Underhill who had charge of that camp. At the retire of our men I arrived, and because it waxed late I thought good to lose no time, but appointed Sir Wm. Herbert and Mr. Kingston with their footmen and horsemen to set on the one side, and my Lord Grey to set on their faces, and I with my company to come on the other side. Upon the sight whereof the rebels' stomachs so fell from them, as without any blow they fled. The horsemen followed the chase, and slew to the number of 700, and took a far greater number. Great execution had followed, had not the night come on so fast.

'All this night we sate on horseback, and in morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston, who immediately began to practice with the townsmen and the keepers of Greenfield* and other gentlemen for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty as they immediately set the gentlemen at large, and gave them their aid with the help of the town for the apprehension of Arundel, whom, with four or five ringleaders, they have imprisoned. I have sent incontinently both

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August 17.

The leaders
are taken
at Launce-
ton.

* Probably Greenfield of Stowe and Bideford, brother or uncle of John the Privateer, and father of the famous Sir Richard.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.

Mr. Carews with a good band to keep the town in a stay; and this morning I haste thither with the rest. We have taken 16 pieces of ordnance, some brass and some iron. Of our part there were many hurt, but not passing ten or twelve slain. The Lord Grey and Mr. Herbert have served notably. Every gentleman and captain did their work so well as I wot not whom first to commend.*

The consequences of unsuccessful rebellion.

Martial law in Devonshire and Cornwall.

Sir Anthony Kingston as provost marshal.

In the break up at Sampford Courtenay, a party of the insurgents with Coffin made towards Somersetshire. These were cut to pieces at Kingsweston, and Coffin was taken. In all, since the beginning of the month, four thousand of the western men, rather more than less, Hooker says, had been killed in action. It remained to punish more formally those who had been peculiarly guilty. Pressed as the council found themselves on all sides, severity was natural and pardonable. Those who excite rebellion against established governments, be their cause good or be it ill, go to their work with the certainty that they must succeed or die; and on the whole it is good for society that the rule should be recognised and observed. Arundel and three others were hanged at Tyburn. Martial law was proclaimed through Cornwall and Devonshire, and the gibbet did its business freely, although in the latter county, according to Hooker, care was taken to distinguish the really guilty. In Cornwall, if we may believe the legends of the next generation,

* Russell to the Council: *MS. Harleian*, 523.

Sir Anthony Kingston, who went as provost marshal, was not so scrupulous. A story was told of a miller who had been out with Arundel, and expecting inquiry, had persuaded a servant to take his place and name. 'Are you the miller?' said Kingston, riding one day to his door. 'If you please, yes,' was the unsuspecting answer. 'Up with him,' said the provost marshal. 'He is a busy knave, hang him up.' In vain the poor man called out then that he was no miller, but an innocent servant. 'Thou art a false knave, then,' said Sir Anthony, 'to be in two tales, therefore hang him;' 'and he was hanged incontinently.' The Mayor of Bodmin had been among the first to move; his name was joined to Arundel's in the rebels' articles, but his friends had interceded for him, and he had hoped for pardon. Kingston visited Bodmin in his progress, and sent the mayor notice that he would dine with him. He had a man to hang, too, he said, and a stout gallows must be ready. The dinner was duly eaten, and the gallows prepared. 'Think you,' said Kingston, as they stood looking at it; 'think you it is strong enough?' 'Yea, sir,' quoth the mayor, 'it is.' 'Well, then,' said Sir Anthony, 'get you up, for it is for you.' The mayor, 'greatly abashed,' exclaimed and protested. 'Sir,' said Kingston, 'there is no remedy, ye have been a busy rebel, and this is appointed for your reward;' and so, 'without respite or stay, the mayor was hanged.'*

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.

The Mayor
of Bodmin
is hanged.

CH. 26. These were stories told by the children of the sufferers to their grandchildren. Had Kingston's reports survived, the account would perhaps have been different. He was a young, high-spirited, and, in some respects, noble sort of person, a friend of Hooper the martyr.

A.D. 1549.
August.

The Vicar
of St. Tho-
mas's at
Exeter,

An execution at Exeter is more authentic and more characteristic of this time. Prominent in the rebel army was Welsh, the Vicar of St. Thomas's; a parish through which the railroad passes by the river-side in front of the town. A worthy parish priest of the old type, Welsh was at once a good believing Catholic, a stout wrestler and cudgel-player, a famous shot with bow, crossbow, and handgun—'a good woodman and a hardy,' who had brought down in his day many a noble buck in the glens of Haldon, and levelled, it is likely, many a ranger from Powderham with his quarter-staff; 'such a one as would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing;' and withal 'very courteous and gentle of demeanour, and of honest parentage.'

Being a
worthy
man, but a
great doer
in the
rebellion,

This man for his sins had been a great hater of the Prayer-book, and a special doer in the siege. He had saved life more than once, but he had also taken life. 'One Kingsmill, a tanner of Chagford,' was taken by the rebels with a letter from the mayor to Lord Russell, and brought before him for judgment. The vicar laboured in his priestly calling to make his prisoner a rebel, and not succeeding, had hanged him on an elm-tree outside the west gate of the city. And now his own time was come. 'It was pity of him,'

men thought, for he had fine gifts and a fine nature; but there was no help for it; Kingsmill's death lay at his door; a court-martial found it there; and he accepted his fate like a gentleman.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.

A beam was run out from St. Thomas's church tower, from which they swung him off into the air; and there Hooker saw him hanging in chains in 'his Popish apparel,' 'a holy-water bucket and sprinklers, a sacring bell, and a pair of beads' dangled about his body; and there he hung till the clothes rotted away, and the carrion crows had pecked him into a skeleton; and down below in St. Thomas's church order reigned, and a new vicar read the English liturgy.

Is hanged
also on
his own
church
tower.

The eastern counties had been the scene meanwhile of another insurrection scarcely less formidable.

On the 6th of July, four days after the commencement of the siege of Exeter, there was a gathering of the people for an annual festival at Wymondham, a few miles from Norwich. The crowd was large, and the men who were brought together found themselves possessed with one general feeling—a feeling of burning indignation at the un-English conduct of the gentlemen. The peasant whose pigs, and cow, and poultry had been sold or had died, because the commons were gone where they had fed—the yeoman dispossessed of his farm—the farm-servant out of employ, because where ten ploughs had turned the soil one shepherd now watched the grazing of the flocks—the artisan smarting under the famine prices which the change of culture had

July 6.
Ket's rebellion.

The gathering of the Commons at Wymondham.

CH. 26. brought with it:—all these were united in suffering; while the gentlemen were doubling, trebling, quadrupling their incomes with their sheep-farms, and adorning their persons and their houses with splendour hitherto unknown.

A.D. 1549.
July.

The resolve
to redress
their
wrongs.

They form
a camp on
Mousehold
Hill,

With a
court of
justice,
where the
gentlemen
are tried
for their
offences
against the
common-
wealth.

The English Commons were not a patient race. To them it was plain that the commonwealth was betrayed for the benefit of the few. The Protector, they knew, wished them well, but he could not right them for want of power. They must redress their own wrongs with their own hands. The word went out for a rising; Robert Ket, a Wymondham tanner, took the lead; and far and wide round Norwich, out in the country, and over the border in Suffolk, the peasants spread in busy swarms, cutting down park palings, driving deer, filling ditches, and levelling banks and hedges. A central camp was formed on Mousehold Hill, on the north of Norwich, where Ket established his head-quarters; and gradually as many as sixteen thousand men collected about him in a camp of turf huts roofed with boughs. In the middle of the common stood a large oak-tree, where Ket sate daily to administer justice; and there, day after day, the offending country gentlemen were brought up for trial, charged with robbing the poor. The tribunal was not a bloody one. Those who were found guilty were imprisoned in the camp. Occasionally some gentleman would be particularly obnoxious, and there would be a cry to hang him; but Ket allowed no murdering. About property he was not so scrupulous. Property acquired by enclosing the people's lands, in the code of these early

communists, was theft, and ought to be confiscated. 'We,' their leaders proclaimed, 'the king's friends and deputies, do grant license to all men to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any poor man, commanding all persons, as they tender the king's honour and Royal Majesty and the relief of the commonwealth, to be obedient to us the governours whose names ensue.' To this order Ket's signature and fifty others were attached; and in virtue of a warrant which was liberally construed, the country houses over the whole neighbourhood were entered. Not only were sheep, cows, and poultry driven off, but guns, swords, pikes, lances, bows, were taken possession of in the name of the people. A common stock was formed at Mousehold, where the spoil was distributed; and to make up for past wants, they provided themselves, in the way of diet, so abundantly that, in the time which the camp lasted, twenty thousand sheep were consumed there, with 'infinite beefs,' swans, hinds, ducks, capons, pigs, and venison.

Considering the wild character of the assemblage, the order observed was remarkable. Chaplains were appointed, and morning and evening services—here not objected to—were regularly read. On the oak-tree which was called the Oak of Reformation there was placed a pulpit, where the clergy of the neighbourhood came from time to time, and were permitted without obstruction to lecture the people upon submission. Among

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.

July.
Life is respected,
but property is not respected.

The country houses are entered, arms are taken, and cattle driven off.

Consumption of food in the camp.

The pulpit at the Oak of Reformation.

CH. 26. others, came Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, 'mounting into the oak, advised them to leave off their enterprise,' or, if they refused, at all events not 'to waste their victuals,' nor 'to make the public good a pretext for private revenge.' The magistrates and other local authorities were powerless. In London, as we have seen, the Protector could not resolve on any distinct course of action. Of the Norfolk insurgents he was believed distinctly to approve, and even to have been in private communication with their leaders.* For several weeks they were unmolested. The city of Norwich was free to them to come and go. The mayor himself, partly by compulsion, had sate

A.D. 1549.
July.

The Mayor
of Norwich
sate with
Ket as joint
assessor.

* Before censuring Somerset for what he did not do, one ought to be able to judge what he was able to do; and before blaming his communications, one ought to know what they were. It is certain, however, that, when the insurrection was put down, he pardoned and dismissed many prisoners who were sent to London for trial. Ket himself was not punished till after the duke's deposition from the Protectorate, and his leniency was approved and perhaps advised by Latimer. The following letter of Sir Anthony Aucher to Cecil, written on the 10th of September, shows the feeling with which the aristocratic party regarded both Latimer and Somerset:—

'Under pretence of simplicity there may rest much mischief, and so I fear there doth in these men called Commonwealths, and

their adherents. To declare unto you the state of the gentlemen—I mean as well the greatest as the lowest—I assure you they are in such doubts that almost they dare touch none of them, not for that they are afraid of them, but for that some of them have been sent up and come away without punishment. And that Commonwealth, called Latimer, hath gotten the pardon of others, and so they speak manifestly, that I may well gather some of them to be in jealousy of my Lord's friendship; and, to be plain, think my Lord's Grace rather to will the decay of the gentlemen than otherwise. There was never none that ever spake as vilely as these called Commonwealths does.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

with Ket as joint assessor under the oak, and had been obeyed when he advised moderation. The ultimate intention, so far as the people had formed an intention, was to give a lesson to the gentlemen and to reform the local abuses. They had no thought, like the western rebels, of moving on London, or moving anywhere. They were in permanent session on Mousehold Hall, and there they seemed likely to remain as long as there were sheep left to be eaten and landowners to be punished.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
July.
The object of the rebellion merely local improvement.

At last, on the 31st of July, a herald appeared at the oak, bidding all the people, in the king's name, depart to their houses, and for all that they had done promising, without exception, a free and entire pardon. The people shouted God save the king. They had lived a month at free quarters; they had given a lesson to the gentlemen, who had seen that the government could not protect them; the pardon was a sanction to their enterprise, which might now fitly end. Undoubtedly, had the rising terminated thus, the Commons would have gained what they desired. Ket, however, stood upon the word. 'Pardon,' he said, was for offenders, and they were no offenders, but good servants of the commonwealth.

July 31.
The council send a herald with a pardon, if the people will disperse.
Ket conceives that, having done well, they do not require pardon.

The herald replied that he was a traitor, and offered to arrest him. The people thought they were betrayed, and in the midst of wild cries and uproar the mayor drew off into the town, taking the herald with him, and the gates were closed. This was taken at once as a declaration of war. A single night served for the preparations,

The dispute leads to a fight, and the rebels take Norwich.

CH. 26. and the next morning Norwich was assaulted.

A.D. 1549.

July 31.

So fierce and resolute the people were, that boys and young lads pulled the arrows out of their flesh when wounded, and gave them to their own archers to return upon the citizens. After being repulsed again and again, a storming party at last made their way through the river over a weak spot in the walls, and the town was taken.

Regular armies under the circumstances of the now victorious rebels are not always to be restrained—an English mob was still able to be moderate. The Norwich citizens had not been oppressors of the poor, and plunder was neither permitted nor attempted. The guns and ammunition only were carried off to the camp. The herald attempted to address the people in the market-place, but they bade him begone. Such of the inhabitants as they suspected they detained as prisoners, and withdrew to their quarters.

By this time the council were moving. The Protector proposed at first to go himself into Norfolk;* but either he was distrusted by the others, or preferred to leave the odium of severe measures to them. Northampton was selected to lead; and it is to be noticed that no reliance could be placed on levies of troops raised in the ordinary way; Lord Sheffield, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, and other members of the Privy Council, went with him; and their force was composed of

Lord Northampton, with a party of noblemen and gentlemen, is sent to Norfolk.

* *Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. 3.*

the personal retinues of the lords and gentlemen, CH. 26.
with a company of Italians.

The Norwich citizens, by this time alarmed at the humour of their neighbours, received them eagerly. Northampton took the command of the town, and the gates were again closed. The next morning the fighting recommenced, the Italians being first engaged; and an Italian officer being taken prisoner, with the same national hatred of foreigners which appeared in Devonshire, he was carried up to Mousehold, stripped naked, and hung. The insurgents having the advantage, brought their cannon close to the walls. In the night, under cover of a heavy fire, they attempted an assault; and though they failed, and lost three hundred men, they fought so resolutely and desperately, that Northampton renewed the offer which had been sent by the herald of a free pardon.

But the blood of the Commons was now up for battle. They had formed larger views in the weakness of the government. They replied that they had not taken up arms against the king, but they would save the commonwealth and the king from bad advisers, and they would do it or die in the quarrel. Again the next day they stormed up to the walls. Struck down on all sides, they pressed dauntlessly on; a hundred and forty fell dead on the ramparts, and then Ket forced his way into Norwich, a second time victorious. Sheffield was killed, Cornwallis was taken, Northampton and his other companions fled for their lives. In the confusion some build-

A.D. 1549.
August.
They enter
Norwich,
where the
rebels at-
tack them.

The city is
again
taken.
Lord Shef-
field is
killed, and
Northamp-
ton is
obliged to
fly.

CH. 26. ings were set on fire, and as a punishment to the inhabitants for having taken part against them, the rebels this time plundered the houses of some of the more wealthy citizens. But they repented of having discredited their cause. The property which had been taken was made up afterwards in bundles, and flung contemptuously into the shops of the owners.

A.D. 1549.
August.

The Protector had not relinquished his intention of invading Scotland,

But the force designed for that purpose was now needed elsewhere.

Parallel to this misfortune came the news that Henry of France in person had at last entered the Boullonnois, and that there was a fresh rising in Yorkshire, to which Russell's success in Devonshire was the only counterpoise. It was characteristic of the administration of Somerset that, with half England in flames, and the other half disaffected, and now openly at war with the most powerful nation on the Continent, he was still meditating an invasion of Scotland. Of the Lanzknechts who had been brought over, some were in the west with Russell. The rest had been marched northwards under the command of the Earl of Warwick. But the defeat of Northampton made further perseverance in this direction impossible. Scotland was at last relinquished, left to itself, or to France. Orders were sent to Rutland, who was at Berwick, to cross the Tweed with such forces as he had with him, to level the works at Haddington, and, leaving there the bodies of thousands of men, and the hundreds of thousands of pounds which had been spent upon the fortifications, to bring off the garrison. Warwick's destination was changed to Norwich, where he was ordered to proceed without delay.

The German troops were to follow him by forced marches. CH. 26.

Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was now passing into prominence; he was the son of Edward Dudley, who had been the instrument of the oppressions of Henry VII., who, on the accession of Henry VIII., had taken part in a treasonable attempt to secure the person of the young king, and had died on the scaffold. The faults of the father had not been visited on the son. John Dudley was employed early in the public service. He had distinguished himself as a soldier, a diplomatist, and as an admiral. As Lord Lisle, a title given to him by Henry, he had commanded the English fleet at Spithead at the time of the French invasion of 1545, and he was second in command under Somerset at Musselburgh. Perfectly free from vague enthusiasm, in his faults and in his virtues he was alike distinguished from the Protector. Shrewd, silent, cunning, and plausible, he had avoided open collision with the uncle of the king; he had been employed on the northern Border, where he had done his own work skilfully; and if he had opposed Somerset's imprudent schemes, he had submitted, like the rest, as long as submission was possible. He had the art of gaining influence by affecting to disclaim a desire for it; and in his letters, of which many remain in the State Paper Office, there is a tone of studied moderation, a seeming disinterestedness, a thoughtful anxiety for others. With something of the reality, something of the affectation of high qualities, with great personal courage, and a cool-

A.D. 1549.
August.
The Earl of
Warwick is
appointed
to repair
the disaster
in Norfolk.

CH. 26. ness which never allowed him to be off his guard, he had a character well fitted to impose on others, because, first of all, it is likely that he had imposed upon himself.

A.D. 1549.
August.

Warwick
begs that
the com-
mand may
be left with
Northamp-
ton, under
whom he is
ready to
serve.

The news of the change in his destination, and of the causes of it, reached him about the 10th of August at Warwick. He wrote immediately to Cecil to entreat that Northampton might remain in the chief command. 'Lord Northampton,' he said, 'by misfortune hath received discomfort enough, and haply this might give him occasion to think himself utterly discredited, and so for ever discourage him. I shall be as glad, for my part, to join with him, yea, and with all my heart to serve under him, as I would be to have the whole authority myself. I would wish that no man, for one mischance or evil hap, to which all be subject, should be utterly abject.*' Without waiting for an answer, and leaving the Germans to follow, he hastened to Cambridge, whither Northampton had retired, taking with him his sons Lord Ambrose and Lord Robert, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and a few other gentlemen. Rallying the remains of Northampton's force, he made at once for Norfolk. He reached Wymondham on the 22nd of August; on the 23rd he was before the gates of Norwich; and for the third time Norroy Herald carried in the offer of a free pardon, with an intimation that it was made for the last time.

He collects
the remains
of North-
ampton's
forces, and
goes to Nor-
wich.

Ket had at length learnt some degree of pru-

* Warwick to Cecil: *TITLEY*, vol. i. p. 193.

dence, and was inclined to be satisfied with his success. He allowed the herald to read the proclamation in all parts of the town and camp, he himself standing at his side; and he had made up his mind to return with him and have an interview with Warwick, when an unlucky urchin who was present flung himself into an English attitude of impertinence, 'with words as unseemly as his gesture was filthy.*' Some one, perhaps a servant of the herald, levelled his harquebuse, and shot 'that ungracious boy through the body.' A cut with a whip might have been endured or approved; at the needless murder shouts arose on all sides of treachery. In vain Ket attempted to appease the exasperation. He could not pacify the people, and he would not leave them. The herald retired from the city alone, and the chance of a bloodless termination of the rising was at an end.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
August 23.
A pardon is again offered to the rebels, which Ket is inclined to receive.

An accident creates a suspicion of treachery, and they resolve to fight it out.

The rebels, after the second capture of Norwich, had retained possession of it. Warwick instantly advanced. The gates were blown open, and he forced his way into the market-place, where sixty men, who were taken prisoners, were hanged on the spot. The insurgents, however, on their side, were not idle. A number of them, making the circuit of the walls, intercepted the ammunition waggons in the rear, and carried them off to Mousehold. The cannon were in front, and were placed at the north gate; but, with little or no powder, they were almost use-

They capture Warwick's artillery, and he is advised to retreat;

CH. 26. less; and another party of the insurgents, with
 A.D. 1549. picked marksmen among them, charged up to
 August 24. the batteries, swept them clear of men by a well-
 aimed shot from a culverin, and carried off the
 guns in triumph.

Another storm of the city now seemed imminent. The force that Warwick had with him was the same which had been already defeated; a panic spread among them, and Warwick was urged to abandon the town—to retreat, and wait for reinforcements. But he knew that two days, at the furthest, would now bring them, and he would take the chances of the interval. Death, he said, was better than dishonour. He would not leave Norwich till he had either put down the rebellion or lost his life. But so imminent appeared the peril at that moment, that he and the other knights and gentlemen drew their swords and kissed each other's blades, 'according to ancient custom used among men of war in times of great danger.'*

But he resolved either to put down the insurrection or die.

The German and Italian mercenaries come up, and he cuts off the supplies of the rebel camp.

Happily for Warwick, the rebels did not instantly follow up their success, and in losing the moment they lost all. On the 25th the Germans came up, and he was safe. The next morning, by a side movement, he cut off the camp from their provisions. They were left 'with but water to drink, and fain to eat their meat without bread;† and on the 27th the whole body, perhaps 15,000 strong, broke up from

* Holinshed, writing from the report of eye-witnesses.

† Council to Wotton: *MS. French*, Edward VI. bundle 8.

Mousehold, set fire to their cabins, and, covered CH. 26.
by the smoke, came down from their high ground A.D. 1549.
into Duffindale.* They had made up their August 27.
minds to fight a decisive action, and they chose
a ground where all advantages of irregular levies
against regular troops were lost.

On the morning of the 27th they were drawn The rebels
up in open fields where Warwick could attack at leave
his pleasure. Before the first shot was fired he Mousehold
sent Sir Thomas Palmer forward, not now to Hill, and
offer a general pardon, for he saw that success offer battle
was in his hand, but excepting only one or two before the
persons. The message was received with a shout city,
of refusal. The rebels opened the action with a Where they
round from their cannon which struck down the receive a
royal standard; but never for a moment had they decisive
a chance of victory; the sustained fire of the defeat.
Lanzknechts threw their dense and unorganized
masses into rapid confusion. As they wavered,
Warwick's horse were in the midst of them, and
the fields were covered instantly with a scattered
and flying crowd. Ket rode for his life, and for
the time escaped; the rest fulfilled the mislead-
ing prophecy, and for three miles strewed Duffin-

* Relying, it was said, on a
fantastic prophecy—

The country gruffs, Hob, Dick,
and Hick,

With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Duffindale with
blood

Of slaughtered bodies soon.

The extent to which wild
'skimble skamble' prophecies

had extended through England,
and really affected men's conduct,
forms at once one of the most pec-
uliar features of the time, and
one of the greatest difficulties in
understanding it. In Wycher-
ley's *Confession*, given above,
it was said that Norfolk was
rich in prophets, and several
were known to be in Ket's
camp.

CH. 26. dale with their bodies: 3500 were cut down; one rarely hears of 'wounded,' on these occasions, except among the victors.* A few only stood their ground; and, seeing that flight was death, and that death was the worst that they had to fear, determined to sell their lives dearly. They made a barricade of carts and waggons, and with some heavy guns in the midst of them, prepared to fight to the last. Warwick respected their courage, and offered them a pardon. They had an impression he had brought down a barrel full of ropes and halters, and that they were to be made over to the mercies of the gentlemen. They said they would submit if their lives were really to be spared; but they would 'rather die like men than be strangled at the pleasure of their enemies.' Warwick declined to parley. He brought up the Germans with levelled matchlocks, and they threw down their arms and surrendered. In this last party were some of the ringleaders of the movement. He was urged to make an example of them; but he insisted that he must keep his promise. Either from policy or from good feeling he was disinclined to severity. 'Pitying their case,' he said, 'that measure must be used in all things;' and when the fighting was over, the executions, considering the times and the provocation, were not numerous.

A.D. 1549.
August.
3500 men
were killed.

Some, who
stood their
ground,
surrendered
as
prisoners,
on condition
that their
lives should
be spared.

* The council, in a letter to Doctor Wotton, at Paris, gives the number of killed at 'about a thousand.' — *French MSS.* bundle 8, State Paper Office. Holinshed, however, professed to have taken pains to inform himself exactly, and the council would, perhaps, make the least of an unfortunate business.

Ket and his brother William were soon after taken and sent to London to be examined by the council. A gunner, two of the prophets, and six more were hanged on the Oak of Reformation; and from Sir Anthony Aucher's letter,* it appears that there were other prisoners whom the Protector released. In the autumn (but not till the change, which I shall presently describe, had taken place in the Government) the Kets were returned to their own county for punishment. Robert was hung in chains on Norwich Castle; William on the church tower at Wymondham. So ended the Norfolk rebellion, remarkable among other things for the order which was observed among the people during their seven weeks of lawlessness.

Сн. 26.
A.D. 1549.
August.
Ket and his brother are taken, and sent to London,

And are ultimately executed.

The rising in Yorkshire was at an end also, having from the first been of a less serious kind. There, too, a prophecy had gone abroad 'That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed; the realm to be ruled by four governors, to be elected by the commons holding a parliament; the commotion to begin at the south and the north seas.'†

A rising in Yorkshire, which is put down more easily.

The south having risen, the north followed. At one time as many as three thousand men were in arms, and three or four gentlemen were murdered. But the force of the county was able and willing to keep the peace. The rioters were put down, and the leaders disposed of.

* *Supra.*

† *HOLINSHED.*

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.
The rebellions are extinguished, but the result is not satisfactory.

Thus with cost and difficulty internal peace was restored. But a success which involved the destruction of ten thousand brave Englishmen by the arms of foreigners, added little either to the credit or the popularity of the government, while it had consumed the whole sum which had been voted by Parliament beyond the private advances of the council, and an unknown sum which was extracted in the course of the summer from the mint.* Abroad it was even more difficult to repair the consequences of Somerset's mistakes.

The Interim does not make progress in Germany.

It has been mentioned that, at the beginning of the summer, Paget was sent to Flanders to make proposals to the Emperor for an alliance against France. Had the Protector been content to do one thing at a time—had he forbore from throwing England into confusion by precipitate changes in religion, it was probable that he might have succeeded, and France might have been forced to leave Boulogne, and restore the Queen of Scots. In Germany the Interim was not making progress. Duke Maurice, on whom Charles most depended, was encouraging his subjects in resistance;† while the Catholics were

* Notices remain in the *Privy Council Register* of a thousand pounds to be spent in one place, eight thousand in another, and so on, of 'moneys growing of the mint.'

† *Litteræ Wittenbergæ* allatæ sunt significantes conventum habitum omnium subditorum Mauricii et Augusti

Ducum, in quo conventu post habitam deliberationem ipsum Mauritium concionatoribus accitis, ordinibus omnibus præsentibus denunciassent ut porro pergerent in suis ministeriis, populo veritatem ut hactenus prædicare, et sacramenta rite administrare; nec quicquam intermitterent quod ad veram pietatem

equally unmanageable, threatening excommunication, tyrannizing wherever they were strong enough, and clamouring to Charles to withdraw the few concessions which he had made.* In Italy the Pope, supported by France, still maintained the seceders to Bologna. Cardinal del Monte declared, and the French ambassadors echoed, that two-thirds of a council, with the consent of the Papal legate, might assuredly alter their place of session. If the Emperor was to dictate on a point of form, he would dictate next on a point of doctrine. The Pope took the same view. The Spanish bishops were remaining patiently at Trent. Paul imperiously commanded them to relinquish their schismatic and disobedient attitude, and rejoin their brethren.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.

The Pope will not reinstate the Council at Trent,

But the Spanish bishops obeyed a stronger master. They received the message with becoming reverence. They regretted that they were obliged to entreat his Holiness to accept their excuses. His Holiness's summons to the council had invited them not to Bologna, but to Trent, as the spot the most opportune, on many grounds, for the settlement of religion. They were waiting, and would wait with meekness, till their brethren should return to them.† The Pope was obstinate. The

facere et ad suum officium pertinere existiment. Sibi curæ futurum ut ab omni violentiâ tuti sint.—Metu populi a se defecturi ad religionem se componit et adsimulat, cum experiantur omnes abhorrere ab Interim recipiendo.—Mont to the Pro-

tector, June 15: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1.

* Episcopi ubique locorum ubi potentiâ superant omnem pietatem exterminant. Multas turbas concitant et dira interminantur.—Ibid.

† PALLAVICINO.

CH. 26. bishops were obstinate. Paul now desired to have the council at Rome, and the sittings at Bologna came to an end; 'but the evil-omened phantom at Trent continued to draw to it the timid and anxious eyes of Christendom, like a fiery portent in the sky.'* Political complications, at the same time, combined more and more to unite the French and Papal interests against the Imperial. Gonzaga continued to hold Piacenza. Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and son-in-law of the Emperor, in the hope, perhaps, of recovering his patrimony, was falling off from the Pope, who was his grandfather, and attaching his fortunes to Charles. The Pope, indignant at his disobedience, himself sent troops into Parma, and took possession of it. Farnese failing in an attempt to drive them out, applied to Gonzaga. Gonzaga told him that Parma should be his if he would hold it as a fief of the Empire, and Farnese inclined to consent.

A.D. 1549.
Which he
intends to
remove to
Rome.

The Parma
and Piacenza
question also
grows more
complicated.

The Emperor
will soon be at
war with
France.

Paget is
therefore
directed to
offer the
English
alliance to
him.

The occupation of the duchy by an Imperial force would be accepted by France, it was well known, as a declaration of war. The Emperor had made up his mind, therefore, to accept the quarrel, and the advances of England were likely to be heard with favour. Paget was instructed to 'decypher the Emperour,' make out his intentions, and do his best to help the war forward. The almost forgotten proposal to give him Mary for a wife might be renewed; or else Mary, if he preferred it, might marry the Prince

* PALLAVICINO.

of Portugal, and in either case Boulogne might be made over with her as a marriage portion. At any rate, Boulogne might be comprehended as part of the English dominions in the treaty already existing, which bound England and the Emperor mutually to assist each other in case of invasion.*

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
July.

At the outset of his embassy, Paget reported favourable progress. The Emperor, he said, must very soon be driven to war, and, for a corresponding advantage, might consent to take charge of Boulogne. In fact, he was sanguine of obtaining Charles's support on favourable terms when the insurrection in England began. Then at once all was changed. The Emperor, who, under no circumstances, would have connected himself with the English government except for immediate convenience, saw at once that he would gain no strength by the alliance, and would only embarrass himself. In vain Paget was directed to make the least of the disturbances.† In vain he was told to affect indifference about Boulogne, and to hint that it might be convenient to relinquish it to France. So accomplished a diplomatist as Paget could only despise the tricks which he was ordered to practice;‡ and the Emperor, too well informed of the state of England to be the dupe of a shallow artifice, broke off the negotiations abruptly.§

The Emperor had thought of consenting, until the outbreak of the rebellion in England,

When the negotiations were instantly broken off;

* Paget to the Protector, June 30: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

† Council to Paget, July 4: *MS. Ibid.*

‡ Paget to Petre, July 8: *MS. Ibid.*

§ 'Alas, Mr. Secretary, we must not think that heaven is here, but that we live in a

CH. 26. After so grave a failure, the step which prudence would have dictated would have been to do, in fact, what Paget had been told insincerely to suggest; that is, to come to terms with France, and give up Boulogne. Three years were already gone of the eight for which England was to keep it, and France would have acquiesced in some moderately favourable arrangement with respect to the debts for which it was held in security. If the Protector could not bring himself to part with it before the time, then, at least, he was bound to take care that it was adequately garrisoned. But he had allowed France to see that he considered himself as little bound to the letter of the treaty as themselves. Contrary to express stipulations, he had raised new forts in the Boullonnois, as well as at the mouth of the harbour. The neglect of engagements by the court of Paris may reasonably have exempted the English from the strict observance of them; but when the Protector had built his forts, he left them half-garrisoned and half-supplied, and to the repeated entreaties of the commanders he had returned only petulant and angry refusals.*

A. D. 1549.
August.

And Boulogne, ill supplied and imperfectly garrisoned, is exposed to attack from France.

world. It is a wonderful matter to hear what brutes run abroad here of your things at home, which killeth my heart to hear. And I wot not what to say to them, because I know them to be true. And they be so well known here in every man's mouth, as you know them at the court, and I fear me better.'—Paget to Petre: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

* 'Also, after the report and

declarations of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, you would never amend the same defaults. You would not suffer Newhaven and Blackness (two castles behind Boulogne) to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were

Although warned of the intentions of the French government, he left events to their natural course of disaster, and he had now to face the consequences of his complicated errors.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.

On the 20th of July the English ambassador had an interview with Henry to suggest the appointment of commissioners to settle disputes. 'The French king at that time did not only assent to the naming of the said commissioners, but further said he would continue his amity and friendship with the King's Majesty;' and as for war, he said, '*par la foye de gentilhomme* [on the honour of a gentleman], I will make none, but I will first give my good brother warning by word of mouth.* Within a day or two of that interview, the resolution was taken to use the opportunity of the English rebellions. French troops at the very time were driving cattle on the Boulogne frontier, and on threat of reprisals, answered scornfully that 'for every bullock or sheep taken wheresoever it was, they would take again of Englishmen twenty; and that for every man slain they would slay forty'—'an answer,' the English council exclaimed, 'of a tyrant or Turk, and not of a Christian prince.'† A fleet suddenly

The French government pretend a desire to keep the peace with England.

The Boulogne frontier is nevertheless daily invaded.

A French fleet attacks Guernsey and Jersey;

thereto advertised by the king's council.' — Articles against the Protector, printed by HOLINSHED. And compare a letter of Paget to the Protector, dated July 7: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

* The Council to Sir Philip Hoby: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

† The Council to Wotton: *MS. France*, bundle 8, State Paper Office.

CH. 26. made a dash at Guernsey and Jersey. According to the French accounts, they were merely in pursuit of English privateers, which they encountered and half destroyed;* according to the English, they intended to surprise the islands, and met a serious defeat there.† Following up his first blow, Henry informed the ambassadors that he intended to be his own commissioner. He went down to Mottreul, where troops had been silently collected, and passed in person into the Boullois. Besides Boulogne proper, the English had now five detached works in the adjoining district. One at Bullenberg, on the hill at the back of the town; another at Ambletue, where there was a tidal harbour; a third called Newhaven, at the mouth of the Boulogne river; a fourth, Blackness, a little inland; and the fifth and most important, on the high ground between Boulogne and Ambletue, called the Almain camp. This last was the key to the other four. The governor and the captain of the artillery had been bribed, and on Henry's summons, surrendered on the spot. Ambletue, Newhaven, and Blackness fell one after the other in rapid succession. Bullenberg was thought by its commander, Sir Henry Palmer,‡ to be untenable when the rest

A.D. 1549.
August.

And the King of France in person at last leads an army into the Boullois.

The outlying English forts fall one after the other.

* DE THOU, lib. vi.

† 'The French king, to take the King's Majesty unprovided, suddenly set forth an army to the sea, and with the same attempted to surprise the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and such of his Majesty's ships as was

there, and were beaten from them with small honour and no small loss of his men.' — Council to Wotton: *MS. France*, bundle 8, State Paper Office.

‡ *Calais MSS.* State Paper Office.

were gone. He applied to the Governor of Boulogne, Lord Clinton, for leave to abandon it, and with Clinton's consent levelled the walls, blew up the castle, and withdrew with his men and guns into the town;* while Henry approached at leisure to Boulogne itself, to revenge, as was supposed, by an immediate assault, his night defeat when Dauphin by Lord Poynings. By this time, however, the season was growing late; the garrison was strengthened by the troops brought in from Bullenberg, and the vast batteries raised by Henry VIII. would perhaps enable Clinton to protract his defence into the winter. The capture of the forts gave the French the command of the country. No supplies of any kind could be introduced from England unless escorted by ships of war; and contenting himself with leaving galleys in Ambletue, and garrisons on all sides, which made the blockade complete, the French king withdrew for a few months, well assured that, with the approaching spring, Boulogne must inevitably be his. Bullenberg cut the garrison off from the Boullonnois. Their cattle were gone. They had neither wood nor

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
August.

A fleet of French galleys watch the mouth of the harbour.

French garrisons occupy the country;

* For which Sir Henry Palmer was degraded and Clinton received a reprimand. The home government 'could not but marvel that they would assent, by their common agreement in council, to the abandoning and raising of the King's Majesty's fort of Bullenberg, upon the vague fear and faint-hearted hearsay of the captains and others of that fort, and

without any apparent or imminent peril. They could not but be sorry to understand that Englishmen such as have had some experience of the wars, should be so faint-hearted that they durst not look their enemies in the face, but would, after such dishonourable sort, both forget their duties and give over his Majesty's pieces.'—The Council to Clinton: *Calais MSS.* State Paper Office.

CH. 26. turf for fuel, nor means of obtaining it. The entire population of the town depended on England for its daily supplies, which the Ambletue galleys were ever on the watch to seize. The English council could not disguise from themselves the nature of the situation.* On their part they could only reply with a formal declaration of war. Their spirit had not sunk to a tacit endurance of invasion under the name of peace; they recalled their ambassadors; and, for 'their late manifold injuries, and also for that, contrary to honour, faith, and godliness, the French king had taken away the young Scottish queen, the King's Majesty's espouse, by which marriage the realms of England and Scotland should have been united in perpetual peace,' 'they did intimate and declare him and all his subjects to be enemies of the King's Majesty of England.'

A. D. 1549. September. And Boulogne is obliged to depend for its daily food on England, which can only be introduced by armed vessels.

The English government declares war.

The balance sheet of the administration of the Duke of Somerset.

Such was the result of an administration of something less than three years by the Duke of Somerset. He had found the country at peace, recruiting itself after a long and exhausting war. The struggle which he had reopened had cost, with the commotions of the summer, almost a million and a half, when the regular revenue was but 300,000*l.*, and of that sum a third was wasted on the expenses of the household. The confiscated church lands, intended to have been sold for public purposes, had been made away with, and the exchequer had been supplied by loans at

* The Council to Sir Philip Hoby: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

interest of thirteen and fourteen per cent., and by a steadily maintained drain upon the currency. In return for the outlay, he had to show Scotland utterly lost, the Imperial alliance trifled away, the people at home mutinous, a rebellion extinguished by foreign mercenaries in which ten thousand lives had been lost, the French conquests held by Henry VIII. as a guarantee for a repudiated debt on the point of being wrested from his hands, and of the two million crowns due for them, but a small fraction likely now to be forthcoming; finally, formal war, with its coming obligations and uncertainties.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
September.

The blame was not wholly his. The Protector's power was probably less than it seemed to be, and the ill-will and perhaps the rival schemes of others may have thwarted projects in themselves feasible. Yet it may be doubted whether, if he had been wholly free to pursue his own way, his blunders would not have been even more considerable; and by contemporary statesmen delicate allowances were not likely to be made for a ruler who had grasped at an authority which had not been intended for him, and had obtained it under conditions which he had violated. His intentions had been good, but there were so many of them, that he was betrayed by their very number. He was popular with the multitude, for he was the defender of the poor against the rich; but the magnificent weakness of his character had aimed at achievements beyond his ability. He had attempted the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, and in his failures he was

CH. 26. passionate and unmanageable; while the princely name and the princely splendour which he affected, the vast fortune which he had amassed amidst the ruin of the national finances, and the palace which was rising before the eyes of the world amidst the national defeats and misfortunes, combined to embitter the irritation with which the council regarded him.

A.D. 1547.
September.

In the presence, therefore, of the fruits of Somerset's bad management, it is idle to look for the causes of his deposition from power in private intrigue or personal ambition. Both intrigue and ambition there may have been; but, assuredly, the remaining executors of the will of Henry VIII. would have been as negligent as Somerset was incapable, if they had allowed the interests of the nation to remain any longer in his hands. He had been sworn to act in no matter of importance without their advice and consent; he had acted alone—he had not sought their advice, and he would not listen to their remonstrances, and the consequences were before them. Warwick, Southampton, Russell, Herbert, St. John, Arundel, Paget, might possibly govern no better, but they had not failed as yet, and Somerset had failed. Their advice, if taken in time, would have saved Boulogne and perhaps prevented the rebellion; and whether others were fit or unfit, the existing state of England was a fatal testimony of the incapacity of the Protector. The council therefore resolved to interfere. The motives which determined them they expressed for themselves in a memorandum which they thought well to lay before the Emperor.

The Protector having shown himself an incapable administrator, the council resolves to interfere.

'The late king,' they said, 'did constitute and appoint sixteen of his Highness's councillors, whom he especially trusted, his executors, and willed that those sixteen, using the advice of certain others appointed to assist them, should not only have the government of the King's Majesty's person during his tender years, but also the rule of the whole realm and the managing of all his Majesty's weighty affairs during the same time; which will, after the death of our said late master, was accepted and sworn unto by all the executors. The Duke of Somerset nevertheless, then Earl of Hertford, not contented with the place of councillor whereunto he was called, sought by all the ways and means he could devise to rule, and in the end, for that he was one of the executors, uncle also to the King's Majesty by the mother's side, by much labour and such other means as he used, obtained to have the highest place in council,* and to have the title and name of Governor of his Majesty's most royal person and Protector of his Highness's realm and dominions—with this condition notwithstanding, that he should do nothing touching the state of the affairs of his Highness without the advice of the rest of the council or the more

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
October.
They explain their motives at length to the Emperor.

* In a rough draft of this memorandum among the council records, Somerset's election to the Protectorate is ascribed less absolutely to his own exertions. 'The Lords considering that it should be expedient to have one, as it were, a mouth for the rest, to whom all such as had to do with the whole body of the council might resort, after some consultation, chose by their common agreement the Duke of Somerset.' — *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

CH. 26. part of them, which to perform he faithfully promised and swore in open council. And yet

A. D. 1549.
October.
The Protector
having promised to be
guided by
their
advice,

Had acted
on his own
judgment,
and had
refused to
allow them
to give
their
opinion.

In consequence
he had thrown
the country
into insur-
rection.

nevertheless he had been never so little while in that room, but, contrary to his said promise, he began to do things of most weight and importance, yea, all things in effect, by himself, without calling any of the council thereunto. And if for manners' sake he called any man, all was one, for he would order the matter as pleased himself, refusing to hear any man's reason but his own; and in short time became so haught and arrogant, that he stuck not in open council to taunt such of us as frankly spake their opinions in matters, so far beyond the limits of reason as is not to be declared. Which thing perceived, we did both all together openly, and every one of us or the more part of us apart, oftentimes gently exhort him to remember his promise; but all hath not prevailed. The success of his government hath been such as there is no true-hearted Englishman that lamenteth not in his heart that ever he bare rule in the realm. As we have devised with him for the preservation of his Majesty's person and honour, so hath he, by continuing in his wilfulness and insolency, wrought the contrary, setting forth such proclamations and devices as whereby the commons of the realm have grown to such a liberty and boldness that they stuck not to rebel and rise in sundry places of the realm in great numbers, with such uproars and tumults, as not only the King's Majesty was in great danger, but also the realm brought to great trouble and hindrance: of which tumults, as the

said duke was indeed the very original and beginning, so did he mind to use the like again, entertaining the most notablest captains and chiefest ringleaders of the said commotions with great gifts and rewards, and some also with annual livings,*—leaving in the mean time the King's Majesty's poor soldiers unpaid, and his Highness's pieces so unfurnished of men, munition, and money, as thereby hath not only ensued the loss of some of them already, but also Boulogne by that means, and the members about, remaineth at this present in very great danger.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October.

He had all
but lost
Boulogne.

'As for his government at home in other affairs, it hath been too ill to rehearse, for there fell no office of the King's Majesty's, but either he sold it for money, or else he bestowed the same upon one of his own servants, or else upon some other such as were of his faction, displacing sundry honest and grave ministers and officers of his Majesty's, putting in others such as he liked in their rooms; and, finally, so perverted the whole state of the realm as the laws and justice could have no place, being all matters ordered and ended by letters and commissions from himself contrary to our laws and against all order. And albeit by his occasion these troubles among us have been great, yet ceased he not in the midst of trouble and misery to build for himself in four

His administration
at home
had been
corrupt :
he had set
aside the
law ;

* I have not been able to obtain any clear details justifying these charges, but in the State correspondence of the month following the insurrection, there are repeated complaints of Somerset's supposed favour for the insurgents; and an accusation so specific I consider most likely to be true.

CH. 26. or five places most sumptuously without any respect or regard in the world, in such sort that, at length, when we saw that counsel could not prevail, and that his pride grew so fast, we thought we could suffer no longer, unless we would in effect consent with him in his naughty doings.*

A.D. 1549.
October.

And they would not sit still and submit any longer.

If allowance be made for passionate colouring and the tendency inevitable at such a time to visit on the leaders of a party the misdoings of dependents, this statement must be accepted as a not unfair account of the truth. Too honourable himself to stoop to corruption, the Duke of Somerset was profuse in his habits, and not too curious, probably, as to the conduct of the profligate adventurers who surrounded and flattered him, and in supplying his necessities took tenfold advantage to themselves.

The first intention was no more than to oblige him to keep the promise on which he had been admitted to the Protectorate.

At first the council had no intention of using violence. They intended to remonstrate in resolute language, 'and if they could by any means have brought him to reason, to avoid trouble and slander.'† It was the first week in October—Somerset was at Hampton Court with the king, having with him Cranmer, Paget, Cecil, Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir John Thynne. Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert were still in the west with the army. In London, of the original executors, were Warwick, St. John, Southampton, Sir Edward North, and the two Wottons; with them were Rich, Lord Chancellor, Sir Richard

* *MS. Germany. Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.*

† *Ibid.*

Southwell, Sir Edward Peckham, and Lord Arundel: members all of them of the council, which had been also appointed by the will of the late king.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October.

The lords in London, as Warwick and the rest were called, had dined twice together for a private conference,* when the Protector learnt from some quarter that there was a design of interfering with him, and, with injudicious irritation, he resolved to treat them as traitors. The young king was persuaded that there was a conspiracy, nominally against the Protector, but really against himself.† A paper was written,‡ printed, and scattered about the streets of London, in which the Privy Council was described as ‘but late from the dunghill,’ ‘a sort of them more meet to keep swine than to occupy the offices which they do occupy,’ ‘conspiring to the impoverishing and undoing of all the commons in the realm;’ ‘they had murdered the king’s subjects,’ and fearing that the Protector would compel a redress of the injuries under which the people suffered, had conspired to kill him first and then the king, and ‘to plant again the doctrine of the devil and Antichrist of Rome.’§ Somerset himself sent his son Lord Edward Seymour with letters in

The Protector, however, accuses them of treason against the king,

Of intending to restore the authority of the Papacy,

* Draft of the Memorandum: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

† Directions to the King for a Letter to be addressed to the Lords: *TITLEE*, vol. i, p. 207.

‡ By some unknown hand. The signature is Henry A.: *Ibid.* p. 208.

§ The writer seemed to fear that the authorities of the city would join with the lords. ‘As for London, called Troy untrue,’ the paper concludes, ‘Merlin saith that 23 aldermen of hers shall lose their heads in one day, which God grant to be shortly.’

CH. 26. the king's name to Russell and Herbert, entreating them to come to the rescue of the crown from a conspiracy of villains with all the force which they could raise.* Inflammatory handbills were dispersed through the adjoining towns and villages calling on the peasantry to take arms for the Protector—the people's friend;† a commission was issued under the king's seal requiring all liege subjects to rise, 'and repair with harness and weapons to Hampton Court to defend the crown.‡

He requires the whole nation to rise, The corporation of London were commanded to arm and despatch a thousand men, and in a private letter Somerset ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to admit no member of the council within the gates.

And desires the corporation of London to send him a thousand men.

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix.

† 'Good people, in the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain lords and gentlemen and chief masters, who would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the king's royal person, because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortions of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the king and the goodness of the Lord Protector, for whom

let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor commonwealth of England.'—*TYTLER*, vol. i. p. 210.

‡ *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office. At the bottom of the page is written, 'This is the true copy of the King's Majesty's commission, signed with his Majesty's seal and hand, and with the Lord Protector's Grace's sign.' The date is October 5. Mr. Tytler has printed the commission from another copy, dated October 1, which is a mistake.

them, met at Ely-place in Holborn, and after a final reconsideration of the state of the country, were mounting their horses to go to Hampton Court 'in a friendly manner, with their ordinary servants' only,* when Petre and some other gentlemen rode up to the gates to inquire, in the Protector's name, for what purpose they were breaking the peace of the country, and to warn them that, if they went to the court, they would be arrested as traitors.† The same morning five hundred of the duke's men had been furnished with harness from the royal armoury, besides the usual guard, and the palace gates were barricaded.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October 6,
Sunday.
The council
learn what
he has
done.

Petre, soon satisfied that the Protector was wrong and the lords were right, did not return, but remained and joined them. The rupture was made known to the world the same day by the issue of the duke's commission; and Shrewsbury, Sussex, Wentworth, Mr. Justice Montague, and

The other
peers who
were in
London
join them.

* *Privy Council Register*, Edward VI. MS. The Protector's party said that they were going armed to seize his person.

† There is some difficulty about the terms of Petre's message. Part, perhaps, was his own information; part the message he was entrusted to give. Edward, in his *Journal*, says that Sir William Petre 'was sent to know for what cause the lords had gathered their powers together, and if they meant to talk with the Protector, they should come in a peaceable manner.' The Protector, in a letter written the following day, said that he had 'sent Mr. Petre with

such a message, as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, the preservation of his realm and subjects.' The *Privy Council Register* says: 'As they were ready to have mounted upon their horses they were certainly advertised, as well by credible reports of divers gentlemen as by letters subscribed by the hand of the said Lord Protector, that he, having some intelligence of their lordships' intents, had suddenly raised a power of the commons to the intent, if their lordships had come, to have destroyed them.'

CH. 26. Sir Ralph Sadler, who were in London, took their places by the side of the council in support of the remonstrance. The Lord Mayor was summoned, and charged on his allegiance to send no men to Hampton Court. Circulars were despatched into the neighbouring counties, explaining the real circumstances, and charging the magistrates to keep the peace. The lieutenant of the Tower was required to surrender his charge, and complied without resistance. So passed the day in London.

A.D. 1549.
October 6.

They issue orders to have the country kept quiet, and take possession of the Tower.

The Protector appeals to the people.

At Hampton Court the Protector waited anxiously for his messenger. His proclamation had brought together a vast crowd of people, but as much, it seemed, from curiosity as from any warmer feeling towards himself. The outer quadrangle was thronged with armed men, and as evening fell, by the glare of torchlight, Edward was brought down across the court and made to say to them—‘Good people, I pray you be good to us and to our uncle.’ The Protector himself then addressed them wildly, passionately, hysterically. ‘He would not fall alone,’ he said. ‘If he was destroyed, the king would be destroyed—kingdom, commonwealth, all would perish together.’* The people listened, but he failed to rouse them to enthusiasm—chiefly, perhaps, because he was saying what was not true. His words fell dead; men might feel for him, but they would not rise into insurrection for him.

* Papers relating to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

Petre, meanwhile, did not come back, and friends brought in disheartening news from London. After measures so rash as those which he had ventured, Hampton Court seemed dangerous; and at once, in the darkness, he called to horse, to be off in the dead of the night to Windsor. Edward was suffering from a cough, but there was no remedy, he must follow his uncle; and there was haste and scurry, armour clanking, servants rushing to and fro, the flashing of lights, and the tramp of horses; in the midst of the confusion, the Duchess of Somerset, fearing how matters might go, gathered up her jewels, and with some few clothes violently crammed together, escaped across the garden to a barge, and dropped down the stream to Kew.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October 6.
And carries
the king in
the night
from
Hampton
Court to
Windsor.

The court reached Windsor before dawn in the autumn morning. The castle was unprovided with ordinary necessities, and the king's weak chest suffered heavily from the wild careless ride.* The archbishop, who would not leave Edward, was with the party; and Paget, the truest friend that Somerset had, who had so often warned him in vain, remained now at his side, to watch over him and prevent his rashness from compromising him fatally.

The council, hearing in the morning of this last unadvised movement, despatched waggons to the castle with supplies of food and furniture,† and

October 7.
The council
write to the
king;

* Paget to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

† *Council Register MS.*

CH. 26. at the same time wrote to the king to say that
 they had received Sir William Petre's message,
 that they were sorry he should doubt their fidelity,
 and that their only desire was for an improvement
 in the administration. They had endeavoured
 again and again by gentle means to check the
 extravagances of the Duke of Somerset; and their
 supposed conspiracy was no more than a resolution
 to discharge the duty which his father's will had
 laid upon them, and to remonstrate more effectually.
 By the same messenger they sent a letter to Paget
 and Cranmer, protesting against the attitude which
 the Protector had assumed towards them, which might
 lead to dangerous consequences. They had intended
 nothing but to give advice, and, if necessary, to press
 their advice; and if he would now dismiss the force
 which he had called out, they were prepared to settle
 their differences with him quietly. Both Sir William
 Paget and the archbishop, however, must be aware of
 the danger of the course on which the Protector seemed
 to have entered, and they implored them as they valued
 their duties, to use their influence for the safety of
 the commonwealth.* At the same time they sent a
 courier to Herbert and Russell with explanations,
 and took fresh steps to prevent Somerset's proclamation
 for raising the country from taking effect.

And to Paget and Cranmer, who were with the Protector, explaining their motives, and protesting against his conduct.

They send letters also to Russell and Sir Wm. Herbert.

The yeomen of the guard were marched to Windsor, ' the lords fearing the rage of the

* The Council to the Lords at Windsor: ELLIS, 1st series, vol. ii.

people, so little quieted;* and the Protector had nothing to fear, could he bring himself to relinquish the power which he had misused. The distracted state of mind into which he had fallen is curiously indicated in the letters and manifestoes which he continued to issue, and which are full of erasures, corrections, and after-thoughts.† Possibly he might have acted more wisely, could he but have shaken off the ill-omened crew whose fortunes would change with his own. Letters between himself and the lords crossed and recrossed on the road. On the same 7th of October, before the letter of the council to the king was brought in, the duke had written to them a second time, apparently wavering. If they chose to press matters against him to extremity, he said he was prepared to encounter them. If they could agree to reasonable conditions, and intended no injury to the king, he would make no more difficulties. In the evening the messenger came in from London; and the next morning, October 8, Sir Philip Hoby, who had come to Windsor, returned with the king's answer, dictated probably by Somerset, a private letter of Somerset himself to Warwick, and another to the council from Paget and Cranmer.

The first was moderate, apologetic, and unnecessary. It admitted that the Protector had been indiscreet, but all men had faults, and faults could be forgiven. Sir Philip Hoby would explain what could not be so readily written; but

CH. 26.

A. D. 1549.
October 7.
The Protector is uncertain and agitated, and offers to submit on conditions.

October 8.
The king intercedes for the Protector, and suggests that arbitrators be appointed on both sides.

* KING EDWARD'S *Journal*.

† In the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith, who was acting as his secretary.—*MS. Domestic*, vol. ix.

CH. 26. in meantime a list of articles was enclosed, which Somerset had signed, containing a declaration that he had not intended, and did not intend, any hurt to the lords; that if any two of them would come to Windsor, and state their wishes to two other noblemen to be named by the king, he would submit to any terms which, after discussion, should be resolved upon, whatever those might be.* In the letter to Warwick the duke declared before God that he had meant no harm to him; nor could he believe that Warwick had desired to injure himself. They had been old friends, and he appealed to his heart to remember it.† Paget and the archbishop wrote in the same tone. They evidently felt that the Protector had added seriously to the danger of his position by his appeal to the commons. He would resign his office, they said, but he could not place himself in their hands unconditionally. Life was sweet, and they must not press him too hard.‡ Finally, Sir Thomas Smith added another letter to Petre. The Protector had yielded to the persuasion of his friends, and would refuse no reasonable terms. He would relinquish office, dignity, everything they might require. He only begged for his life. Such an offer ought not to be rejected, 'nor the realm be made in one year a double tragedy and a lamentable spoil, and a scorning stock of the world.'§

Sir Thomas Smith says that the Protector will abdicate, and give up everything, on condition that his life may be spared.

* The King to the Lords, October 8: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 220. Articles signed by the Protector: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

† The Protector to Warwick, October 8: STOW.

‡ TYTLER, vol. i. p. 223.

§ Ibid. p. 228.

When the Protector was one day inviting the nation to take arms for him, and the next was begging for his life, the causes of his alternate moods cannot be accurately traced. On the 8th of October, before Hoby's arrival, a meeting had been held at the Guildhall, where the lords a second time explained their conduct. They assured the City that they had no thought of undoing the Reformation, or of altering the order of religion as now established. The next point of importance was the answer from Herbert and Russell, who had command of the army.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October 8.

A meeting is held at the Guildhall, when the council satisfy the city.

On learning from Lord Edward Seymour that the king's person was in danger, the generals had pushed forward by forced marches to Andover. There, however, letters reached them from the council; and the real danger to be feared was not, as they found, from a conspiracy of the lords, but from a fresh insurrection of the commons on the invitation of Somerset. They halted, sent back to Bristol for cannon, called about them the gentlemen of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and charged them on their lives to put down all assemblies of the people. The proclamations were telling in all directions. 'The country was in such a roar that no man wist what to do.' Barely in time to prevent a general rising, they fell back on Wilton, where the peril was most threatening, and sent Lord Edward again to his father with the following answer:—

Russell and Herbert send their answer to the Protector.

PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE,

We have received your letter not without

CH. 26. great lamentation and sorrow, to perceive the civil dissension which has happened between your Grace and the nobility. A greater plague could not be sent into this realm from God, being the next way to make us of conquerors slaves, and to induce upon us an universal calamity and thralldom, which we pray God so to hold his holy hand over us as we may never see it. And for answer this is to signify that so long as we thought that the nobility presently assembled had conspired against the King's Majesty's person, so long we came forward with such company as we have for the surety of his Highness as appertaineth. And now having this day received advertisement from the lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt or displeasure is meant towards the King's Majesty, and as it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his Highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so in conclusion it doth also appear unto us that this great extremity proceedeth only upon private causes between your Grace and them. We have, therefore, thought most convenient, in the heat of this broil, to levy as great a power as we may, as well for the surety of the King's Majesty's person, as also for the preservation of the State of the realm; which, whilst this contention endureth by faction between your Grace and them, may be in much peril and danger.

A.D. 1549.
October 8.
They have
received
his letter,
and are
very sorry
for the
quarrel
between
himself and
the lords.

So long
as they
thought
there was a
conspiracy
against the
king, they
had come
forward
with forced
marches
in his
defence.

We are out of doubt, the devil hath not so enchanted nor abused their wits as they would consent to anything prejudicial and hurtful to the

King's most noble person, upon whose surety and preservation, as they well know, the state of the realm doth only depend;* and having consideration of their honour, discretions, and continued truth unto the crown, we believe the same so assuredly as no other argument may dissuade us from the contrary. And for our own parts we trust your Grace doubteth not but that as we have, and will, and must have a special regard and consideration of our duties of allegiance unto the King's Majesty, so shall we not be negligent to do our parts like faithful subjects, for the surety of his Highness accordingly, beseeching your Grace that his Majesty in anywise be put in no fear; and that your Grace would so conform yourself as these private causes redound not to an universal displeasure of the whole realm.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.

October 8.

But finding

that the

council

have no

such inten-

tion, and

having full

confidence

in their

integrity,

they will

for them-

selves keep

the country

quiet.

They trust

his Grace

will im-

prove him-

self.

Would God all means were used rather than any blood be shed; which, if it be once attempted, and the case brought to that misery that the hands of the nobility be once polluted with each other's blood, the quarrel once begun will never have an end till the realm be descended to that woeful calamity that all our posterity shall lament the chance. Your Grace's proclamations and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much. The wicked and evil-disposed persons shall stir as well as the faithful

His appeal

to the

people

they ut-

terly dis-

approve.

* An expression with more meaning than shows on the surface. Among the divisions in England, loyalty to the reigning sovereign was the one sentiment on which all parties were

agreed. With the glare of the Wars of the Roses still visible so plainly, no question was permitted to be pressed to a point which touched the throne.

CH. 26. subjects; and we and those other gentlemen who
A.D. 1549. have served, and others of worship in these coun-
October 8. ties where the same have been published, do
incur by these means much infamy, slander, and
discredit.

Thus we end, beseeching Almighty God the
matter be so used as no effusion of blood may
follow, and therewithal may be a surety of the
King's Majesty and of the state of the realm.*

Somerset had shown ability as a general, and
his courage in the field was unimpeachable; but in
social and political life his tendency was ever to
confound the imaginary and the real; to be ex-
treme alike in his hopes and fears, and to govern
himself rather by momentary emotion than by
serious thought. He was like a woman in noble
enthusiasms—like a woman in passionate sensi-
bility: but he had the infirmity both of men
and women whom fortune has spoilt; he could
endure no disappointment, and a molehill in his
path became a mountain. Thus an amicable in-
tention of remonstrance he had construed into
a conspiracy against the king—thus he believed
that the council desired to murder him—thus,
when his appeal to the country was likely to
fail, he sunk into the extreme of despondency
and submission; and now, when his son returned
with the letter from the army, which, after his
resolution to resign, need not have affected him,
he fell again into a hysterical panic. Nothing

* TYTLEB, vol. i. p. 216.

so keenly irritates nervous excitement as the cold language of truth, and in the emphatic condemnation of his conduct, which he must have known to be just, he saw again gleaming before him the axe of the executioner. On the Wednesday morning the council heard from Windsor that the yeomen of the guard had been removed or disarmed; that the castle was held only by the Protector's servants in the royal uniform; that in 'a great presence' Somerset had declared that, 'if the lords intended his death, the King's Majesty should die before him, and if they intended to famish him, they should also famish his Majesty.*' The belief at the court was that he meditated a second flight, and intended to carry the king to Wales, to Jersey, or to the Continent.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October 9.

The Protector substitutes his own servants for the yeomen of the guard, and meditates flight, taking the king with him.

If, in his present humour, he attempted any such enterprise, his flight through the country with the king in his company would rekindle a universal conflagration. Sir Philip Hoby was sent back with an answer from the council to Edward. They repeated their assurances that they were acting only for the public good. They protested that they were not under the influence of personal jealousies. The Duke of Somerset, with the worst possible consequences to the country, had broken the engagement to which he had bound himself. They could not make conditions with him or appoint commissioners to treat with commissioners. He must disarm his

The council again assure the king that they are acting only on public grounds, and require the Protector to submit unconditionally.

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

CH. 26. followers, and consent to share with them the common position of a subject, as the late king had intended.*

A. D. 1549.
October 10.

They require Paget and Cranmer to prevent the removal of the king at their own peril.

To Cranmer and Paget the council wrote more imperiously. They were surprised, and in the highest degree displeased at the removal of the royal guard. As they tendered their duties to God and the country, let not the Lords allow the king to be carried away from Windsor, or they should answer for it at their uttermost perils. They had themselves stated to his Majesty the conditions to which the Protector must submit. There was no reason to fear that there would be any cruelty or needless severity. 'They minded to do none otherwise than they would be done unto, and that with as much moderation and favour as they honourably might.' Finally, they desired every one at Windsor to attend to the message which would be delivered by Sir Philip Hoby,† and which Hoby read aloud to the duke, to whom with the rest it was addressed, in the presence of the court.

'My lord, and my lords and master of the

* The Council to the King: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office. Printed by BURNET.

† Mr. Tytler, who, in his tenderness for Somerset, represents him as the victim of an unprincipled intrigue, and scatters freely such epithets over his story as 'base,' 'villanous,' and 'treacherous,' says that Hoby had brought a secret message to Paget and Cranmer, which was 'none other

than they must either forsake the duke, lend themselves to the deceit about to be practised on him, and concur in measures for securing his person, or continue true to him and share his fate.' The unconditional submission which the council required, he considers was basely kept a secret; the object was to put the Protector off his guard, and then take him prisoner. Considering that, in the existing circumstances, set-

council,' the message ran, 'my lords of the council have perused your letters, and perceived the King's Majesty's requests and yours, and have willed me to declare unto you again, that they do marvel much why you do so write unto them, as though they were the most cruel men in the world, and as though they sought nothing but blood and extremity. They say of their honour they do mean nothing less; and they bade me declare unto you from them, that, of their faith and honour, they do not intend, nor will hurt in any case the person of my lord the duke, nor none of you all, nor take away any of his lands or goods, whom they do esteem and tender, as well as any of you, as they ought. They are not

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.
October 10.
Sir Philip
Hoby de-
clares, on
the part of
the council,
that no
hurt is in-
tended to
the Pro-
tector's
person;

ting aside the interests of the State, the truest kindness to Somerset was to prevent him from attempting the wild plans which he was meditating, there would have been nothing to deserve the epithets of false and treacherous, had the council sent such instructions, and had Paget and Cranmer acted on them. But the eagerness of Mr. Tytler's sympathies has misled him. The message was delivered in open audience, and was addressed to Somerset as much as to them. 'The unconditional submission' was required in the letter to the king, and this letter was, by the especial order of the council, presented to the king in open court, and read aloud. 'Sir Philip Hoby,' wrote Cranmer, Paget, and Sir Thomas Smith, on the 10th of October, to the council, 'hath, according to the

charge given him by your lordships, presented your letter to the King's Majesty, in the presence of us and all the rest of his Majesty's good servants here, which was then read openly.' Sir Thomas Smith was Somerset's friend.

Had the duke been put to death after the promise of kind treatment, there would have been ground for the charge of perfidy. But, inasmuch as the promise was observed, and in three months he was again a member of the council, it is hard to see what the crime was on which Mr. Tytler lavishes his eloquence. It would be well if historians could bring themselves to believe that statesmen may be influenced, and at times have been influenced, by other feelings than personal ambition or rivalry.

CH. 26. ignorant, no more than you, that he is the king's
 uncle. They do intend to preserve his honour
 as much as any of you would, nor mean not, nor
 purpose not, no manner hurt to him; but only
 to give order for the Protectorship, which hath
 not been so well ordered as they think it should
 have been; and to see that the king be better
 answered of his things, and the realm better
 governed for the King's Majesty. And for you,
 my lords and masters of the council, they will
 have you to keep your rooms and places as you
 did before, and they will counsel with you for the
 better government of things.'

A.D. 1549.
 October 10.

That they
 only re-
 quire an
 improve-
 ment in the
 adminis-
 tration.

He assures
 the duke
 on his
 honour that
 his life is
 safe.

Then, turning to the duke, Hoby went on, 'My
 lord, be not you afraid; I will lose this,' and he
 pointed to his neck, 'if you have any hurt; there
 is no such thing meant; and so they would have
 me tell you, and mark you well what I say.'

He then desired that the letter to the king
 and the other letters might be read that there
 might be no room for suspicion; and when this
 was done, 'all thanked God and prayed for the
 lords;'* Paget fell on his knees at the duke's
 feet; 'Oh, my lord,' he said, in tears, 'you see
 now what my lords be.'

The Protector seems to have still hesitated.
 The same day the council sat at the house of
 Lord St. John, when it was intimated that Paget
 and the archbishop had succeeded in restoring the
 yeomen of the guard. A hint had been sent by
 the former that it would be well if the duke was

* TYTLER, vol. i. p. 239.

placed under restraint,* the kindest thing which could be done for him. Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Anthony St. Leger were charged with the council's thanks, to act on the hint if possible, and, at all events, to see that the duke did not leave the castle before their own arrival.† Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolf, and Cecil were to be confined to their rooms.

CH. 26.
A.D. 1549.
October 10.
The yeomen of the guard are replaced.
The Protector and his friends are placed under restraint.

On Saturday, the lords went down in person. The king made no difficulty in receiving them. His objections, had he made objections, would have gone for little; but he seems at no time to have felt strong personal attachment to his uncle. Sir Thomas Smith was expelled from the council, and with Stanhope, Thynne, and Wolf, 'the principal instruments that the duke did use in the affairs of his ill government,' was sent to the Tower, where the duke followed them on the ensuing Monday.

The council go down to Windsor, and the Protector is sent to the Tower.

So ended the Protectorate. The November session of parliament was approaching. The interval was spent in examining the public accounts, and remedying the more immediate and pressing disorders of the administration. On the 18th of October, 'the lords receiving daily advertisements, as well from the Borders against Scotland, as from Boulogne, Calais, Ireland, Scilly, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and the Wight, of the misery that the poor soldiers were

* ELLIS, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 175.

† *Privy Council Records, MS.*

CH. 26. in for lack of payment of their wages; and, besides, of an universal want, grown in the time of the late Protector—who, being continually called upon by the council for redress thereof, would not give place thereunto—of victual, armour, ordnance, and of all kinds of munition and furniture, did immediately give order for the supply thereof to all those places aforesaid.*

A.D. 1549.
October.
The arrears
of wages in
the dif-
ferent gar-
risons are
paid up.

The public
accounts
are ex-
amined.

The debts due to the crown, and the more considerable debts due by the crown, were inspected, the disposition of the chantry lands, and of the other properties of all kinds which had passed through Somerset's hands: it seemed as if at once a new leaf was to be turned over, and there was to be again an honest and economical government.† In one direction only there

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

† A loose paper of memoranda made by some one engaged in the inquiry shows how complicated the accounts must have been, and how inadequate are the existing data to decide on the character of Somerset's conduct.

'Touching the Duke of Somerset—

'1. The plate belonging to the late college of St. Stephen's at Westminster, delivered into his hands.

'2. The rich copes, vestments, altar cloths, and hangings belonging to the same college, whereof the Duke had the best and Sir Ralph Vane the next.

'3. The Duke of Norfolk's stuff and jewels, delivered by Sir John Gates.

'4. The best of Sharnington's stuffs and goods.

'5. The lead, stone, and stuff of Sion, Reading, and Glastonbury, of great value.

'6. The stallment of the king's alum, sold to certain merchants of London for fourteen or fifteen years, for which the duke, Smith, and Thynne had among them 1400*l*.

'7. The thousand marks given by the city of London to the King's Majesty at his coronation.

'8. The customers' officers within England, for the which he had by Thynne's practice notable suma.

was to be no present reform, and unfortunately in the worst and most especial plague of the commonwealth.

Ch. 26.
A.D. 1549.
October.

It has been mentioned that the Lords of the Council themselves provided funds for the suppression of the rebellion. They held themselves entitled to repayment, and there are no longer means of testing the justice of their claims; but it is easier to give an opinion of the means by which those claims were satisfied. On the 28th of October a warrant was addressed to the Master of the Mint, setting forth that wheréas the well-beloved Councillor Sir William Herbert, in suppression of the rebels, had not only spent the great part of his plate and substance, but also had borrowed for the same purpose great sums of money, for which he remained indebted—the officers of the mint might receive at his hands two thousand pounds weight in bullion in fine silver—the said bullion to be coined and printed into money current according to the established standard—the money so made to be delivered to the said Sir William Herbert, with all such profits

The Lords
repay
themselves
the money
which they
spent on
the rebel-
lion,

'9. The king's secret houses in Westminster, and other places wherein no man was privy but himself, half a year after the king's death.

'10. The gifts and exchanges past in his name since the king's death.

'11. It is thought that much land was conveyed by the duke in trust, in the names of Thynne, Kellaway, Seymour, Berwick,

Colthurst, and other his men, and that they have made assurances again of all to the duke and his heirs, and it is thought that the said persons know best where all the evidences of his lands and his specialties do remain.

'12. The duke's diet of eight hundred marks by the year, proceeded from the Augmentation Court.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

CH. 26. as would otherwise have gone to the crown after deducting the expenses of the coining.* The profit to Sir William Herbert, beyond the sum which he would have received as a bullion merchant for the 2000lb. of silver, was 6709*l.* 19*s.*; and immediately afterwards the same privilege was extended to Warwick, Arundel, Southampton, Paget, Dorset, Russell, Northampton, for an equal sum to be raised by similar means. Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Darcy were allowed to coin 2000lb. between them; Huntingdon, Clinton, and Cobham, 1000lb. each; and the Duchess of Richmond 500lb.† By this proceeding more than 150,000*l.* worth of base silver coin was thrown at once into circulation, deranging prices worse than ever, shaking the exchange, driving the gold out of the country, and producing its varied complications of disastrous consequences none the less certainly, because the council could excuse themselves from the straits to which the Protector's extravagances had reduced the public revenues, and because the theories of the financiers concealed from them the mischief which they were creating.

A.D. 1549.
October.
Out of the
profits on
the silver
coinage,

With bad
conse-
quences to
the coun-
try.

* *Harleian MSS.* 660. According to RUDING's *Tables*, vol. i. p. 183, a pound of silver was coined, in the year 1549, into 7*l.* 4*s.*; of which the crown, for seignorage and cost of minting, took 4*l.*, paying the merchant 3*l.* 4*s.*; but the seignorage varied from month to month, and so apparently did the cost and the materials of the alloys.

† The memoranda of this transaction form part of a long paper on the coinage in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith. — *Harleian MSS.* 660.

It is one of the first duties of a historian to enable the reader to distinguish between the general faults of an age and the special faults of individuals, for which they may be legitimately held responsible.

CH. 26.

A.D. 1549.

As an account of the extraordinary confusion to which the currency was reduced, by a long course of changes at home and abroad, I give the following address to the council of Edward VI., from the *Harleian MSS.* 660. The date is probably 1551.

'Your humble suppliant, Humfrey Holt, pondering the great enormities growing of late unto this realm, by the greediness of a number of merchants, with others, that have sought to cull out for their private gainings the best of our moneys here made, and so hath transported the same into foreign realms, to the great decay and abasing of the same, by reason they be of so many divers and sundry standards in fineness, as well of the coins of gold as also of the silver moneys,—in consideration thereof, and to bring the said coins to one perfect and uniform standard, that all such culling might cease, and all men by the same be like benefited,—I, your humble servant, have thought good to signify unto your honours, not only the rates and valuations of the same, but also which losses the King's Majesty hath and daily doth sustain, if remedy be not provided in that behalf.

'1. The old sovereigns, half-sovereigns, royalls, half-royalls and quarter-royalls, angels and half-angels, being 24 carats fine gold, are better than their current value after the moneys in Flanders, in every pound, twenty pence, and in every hundred pounds 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in every thousand pounds 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'2. The sovereigns, half-sovereigns, angels, half-angels, and quarter-angels, being 23 carats fine gold, are better than the Flanders money, in every pound ten pence, in every hundred pounds 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, in every thousand 42*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

'3. The old crowns and half-crowns of the first stamp or coin are better, both in weight and value, than the Flanders moneys, in every pound 6*s.* 3*d.*, in every hundred pounds 31*l.* 5*s.*, in every thousand 313*l.* 10*s.*

'4. The fourth coin of gold, being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, half-crowns, being 22 carats fine gold, are better than the current value after the moneys in Flanders, in every pound 3*s.*, in every hundred pounds 15*l.*, in every thousand 150*l.*

'5. The fifth coins of gold called sovereigns and half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, being 20 carats fine, are better than their current value, in every pound 16 pence, in every hundred pounds 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in every thousand 56*l.* 13*s.*

'6. The sixth coins or moneys of gold, being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, half-crowns, called the polled heads, are better than the current value, in every pound 4 pence, in every hundred pounds 33*s.* 4*d.*, in every thousand 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'7. The seventh, or last moneys of gold, being sovereigns, half-

CH. 26. sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, are better than their current value, in every pound 2 pence, in every hundred 16s. 8d., in every thousand 8l. 6s. 8d.

A.D. 1549.

'Item. Our new sterling money of silver, holding eleven oz. of fine silver, is better than their sterling money in Flanders, in every pound nineteen pence, in every hundred 7l. 18s. 4d., in every thousand 79l. 3s. 4d.

'Item. The half-groat, called the old sterling, being current two pence the piece, makes the oz. two shillings, and the 12oz. 24 shillings; and holding fine silver 10oz. 18dwts., at 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 59s. 5d., and are better than their current value, in every pound 28s. 4d., and in every hundred pounds 141l. 13s. 4d., and in every thousand 1410l.

'Item. The half-groats with the gunholes, holding fine silver 9oz. and 3oz. of alloy, at 2 shillings the oz., makes the 12oz. 24 shillings, the fine silver at 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 49s. 1½d., and so this coin is better than his current value in every pound 21 shillings, in every hundred pounds 105l., and in every thousand 1050l.

'Item. The half-groats, called gunstone groats, holding fine silver 6oz., and 6oz. of alloy, at 2s. the oz., makes the 12oz. 24 shillings, the fine silver at 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 32s. 9d., and so this coin is better than his current value, in every pound 7s. 3d., in every hundred 36l. 5s., in every thousand 362l. 10s.

'Item. There is one coin of half-groat, holding fine silver 4oz. and 8oz. of alloy, at 2s. the oz., makes the 12oz. 24 shillings, and the fine silver 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 21s. 10d., and so is lost in every pound of his value two shillings, in every hundred pounds 10l., in every thousand 100l.

'Item. There is one coin of 6d. holding fine silver 8oz. and 4oz. of alloy, at 4s. the oz., makes the 12oz. 48 shillings. The fine silver 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 43s. 8d., and so is lost of the current value of this coin in every pound 2 shillings, in every hundred pounds 10l.

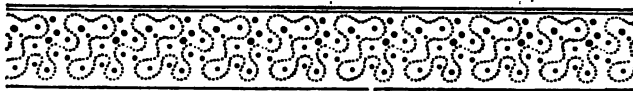
'Item. There is one coin of 6d. holding fine silver 6oz. and 6oz. of alloy, at 3s. the oz., makes the 12oz. 36s., the fine silver at 5s. 5½d. the oz., makes 32s. 9d., and so is lost in every pound in this coin 2 shillings, in every hundred pounds 10l., and in every thousand 100l.

'Item. There is one coin of 6d. holding fine silver 3oz. and 9oz. of alloy, at 3 shillings the oz., makes the 12oz. 36s., the fine silver at 5s. 5½d., makes 16s. 4½d., and so is lost in every pound 11 shillings, in every hundred 55l., and in every thousand 550l.

'Item. Our moneys or pence called the Rose pence, holding fine silver 4oz. and 8oz. of alloy, at 40d. the oz., makes the 12oz. 40 shillings, the fine silver 5s. 5½d., makes 21s. 10d., and is lost of every pound of his current value 9s. 1d., in every hundred pounds 46l. 5s., in every thousand 462l. 10s.

' And so the worst of the said moneys doth buy and sell the best, CH. 26.
and will, till all come to one uniform, and the prices of everything _____
to run upon the worst of our moneys to the great decay of all A.D. 1549.
things, which coins may be converted to one uniform after the
moneys in Flanders to the King's Majesty's great advantage, and
no loss to the commons in the converting of the same, and all
things by the same to come to a clear price, and the true value of
the coins to be perfectly known ; which, if it be your honour's plea-
sure to license me to make thereof, I doubt not but it shall appear
unto your honours worthy the exercise.'





CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REFORMED ADMINISTRATION.

CH. 27. **T**HE fall of the Protector was a signal for revived hope among the Catholics. Bonner, at the close of a process in which the forms of law were little observed, and the substance of justice not at all, was not only imprisoned, but had been in September deprived of his bishopric by a sentence of Cranmer. In times of religious and political convulsion, to be opposed to the party for the moment in power is itself a crime; and Bonner, sensual, insolent, and brutal, retained, nevertheless, the virtue of honesty. The see of London, therefore, had been required for more useful hands. But there was a general impression that the recovery of authority by the executors would now lead to a change of policy. In Oxford mass was again celebrated in the college chapels.* Both Bonner and Gardiner appealed against the oppression to which they had been subjected. The Bishop of Winchester, congratulating the council on their success and courage, entreated that his conduct might be again in-

A.D. 1549.
The Catholics expect a change of policy. Bonner and Gardiner appeal against their imprisonment.

* Stumphius to Bullinger: *Epistolæ Tigurinae*.

quired into, and that he should not be confined any longer on the unauthorized warrant of a subject like himself. Those who had been active in Bonner's persecution anticipated unpleasant consequences to themselves. Hooper,* one of the most prominent among them, writing to Bullinger, said that, 'Should the bishop be restored to his office, for himself he doubted not he would be restored to his Father in heaven.† The Emperor shared the expectation, or so far considered the reaction possible, as to make it a condition of the alliance which the English council so much desired. He received the message sent him through Sir Thomas Cheyne graciously. He would make no promises without conditions, but a return to orthodoxy would be rewarded by a return of his friendship.‡

CH. 27.

A.D. 1549.
November.

There was a time, perhaps, when the direction which things would assume was uncertain. Southampton, Shrewsbury, and Arundel had taken part in the deposition of Somerset, the first being distinctly, the second moderately Catholic;

* John Hooper, whose father, a yeoman perhaps, was still living in Somersetshire, had been brought up at Oxford. He had left England on the passing of the Six Articles' Bill, and had resided in Switzerland, where, as the friend of Bullinger, he had become a strong Genevan. On Edward's accession he came back to London, and was now rising rapidly into notoriety as a preacher.

† Hooper to Bullinger: *Epistolas* TIGURINÆ.

‡ 'I shall pray you, after my hearty commendation to the king and council, to desire both him and them to have matters of religion first recommended, to the end we may be at length all of one opinion; till when, to speak plain unto you, I think I can neither so earnestly nor so thoroughly assist my good brother as my desire is.'—Cheyne to the Council: STYVE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii.

CH. 27.

A.D. 1549.
November.
Warwick
determines
to adhere
to the Pro-
testants,

As pro-
mising
better for
his own
interests.

the Earl of Warwick himself was untroubled with religious convictions of any kind, and might take either side with equal unconscientiousness; and the executors, acting as a body, would have relapsed into the groove which Henry VIII. had marked for them. But equality of influence could not co-exist with inequality of power. The part which Warwick had taken in putting down the insurrection had given him for the moment the control of the position; and Warwick, whose single and peculiar study was the advancement of himself and his family, determined, it may be after some hesitation, to adhere to the party of which he could be the undisputed chief. Had he brought the conservatives into power, he must have released the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, and Gardiner with him. Shrewsbury, Oxford, Rutland, Derby, the lords of the old blood, would have reappeared in public life; and in such a circle Lord Warwick must soon have sunk to the level of his birth. It was more tempting for him to lead those who had made their way into rank through the revolution, or had still their fortunes to make, than to sink into a satellite of the Howards, the Stanleys, and the Talbots.

Southampton, therefore, retired again into obscurity, and soon died. A charge of peculation was brought against Arundel, who was removed from his office of Lord Chamberlain, and fined 12,000*l.*,* and the petitions of the imprisoned

* *Privy Council Records*, bars at Westminster, and giving
MS. 'Plucking down bolts and away the king's stuff,' is the vague

bishops remained unnoticed. Gardiner wrote a second time more formally, 'which the Lords took in good part, and laughed very merrily at, saying he had a pleasant head;*' but they preferred to leave him where he was. A third letter met the same neglect, written in a tone of dignified and large moderation, which would have earned some respect for Gardiner, had not he too, in his turn of authority, violated the principles to which he appealed.† Finally, he prepared a petition to parliament, on its assembling in November, which the council would not permit to be presented.‡

Cn. 27.
A.D. 1549.
November.
Gardiner
again ap-
peals, but
to no pur-
pose.

The measures brought forward by the government in the session which followed close upon

account which Edward gives in his journal, of the charges against Arundel, which, however, he says that Arundel confessed.

* Stow.

† 'I renew my suit unto your lordships, instantly requiring you that I may be heard according to justice, and that with such speed as the delay of your audience give not occasion to such as be ignorant abroad of my matter, to think that your lordships allowed and approved the detaining of me here; which, without hearing my declaration, I trust ye will not, but will have such consideration of me as mine estate in the commonwealth, the passing of my former life among you, and other respects, do require; wherein you shall bind me, and do agreeably to your honour and justice, the free course whereof

you have honourably taken upon you to make open to the realm without respect, which is the only establishment of all commonwealths. And therefore the zeal of him was allowed, that said *Fiat justitia ruat mundus*, signifying, that by it the world is kept from falling indeed, although it might seem otherwise in some respects, and some trouble to arise in doing it. And this I write because in the late Lord Protector's time there was an insinuation made unto me, as though I was kept here by policy, which, with the violation of justice, never took good effect, as I doubt not of your wisdom you can and will consider and do accordingly.'—Gardiner to the Council: Stow.

‡ Report of the Proceedings against Gardiner: FOXE, vol. vi.

CH. 27. the change, left no doubt indeed that, with respect to religion, the policy of the past three years would be continued and carried further.

A.D. 1549.
November.

An act is
passed in
parlia-
ment for
the re-
moval of
images.

A violent act was passed against images and paintings in the face of the conservative opposition in the House of Lords.* No statues or figures of any kind were to remain in the parish churches except, as the statute scornfully said, 'the monumental figures of kings or nobles who had never been taken for saints:' and the Prayer-book being the only religious service necessary or tolerable — 'antiphones, missals, scrayles, processionals, manuals, legends, portuyses, primers, in Latin or English, cowchers, journals, ordinals,' and similar books, were to be taken away, burnt, or otherwise destroyed.†

The other business of the session was not of particular consequence. A riot act, not unnecessarily harsh, was a natural consequence of a summer of rebellion. The peculiar feature of it was that the Privy Council were placed under the protection of the high treason laws.‡ From experience of failure, the Slave Statute of the preceding session was repealed; the vagrancy acts of Henry were restored, and labourers refusing to work were to be punished as vagabonds. The sick and aged were to be relieved in convenient cottages at the expense

The va-
grancy
statutes of
Henry are
restored,
and the
Slave Act
is repealed.

* Dissentients the Earl of Derby, Lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton; the Bishops of Durham, Lichfield, Carlisle, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester.—*Lords Journals*, 3 and 4 Edward VI. † 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 10. ‡ Ibid. cap. 5.

of their town or parish; children carried about CH. 27.
 begging were to be allotted as apprentices to any
 one who would bring them up in an honest A.D. 1549.
 calling, and the magistrates were to protect them November.
 from ill-usage.

Public morality was reported to be disordered. The sudden emancipation from the control of the Church courts had led to license, and both the religious parties desired alike a restoration of discipline. On the 14th of November the bishops presented a complaint in the House of Lords that their jurisdiction was despised and disobeyed, that they could cite no one and punish no one—they could not even compel those who were disinclined to appear in their places in church. The peers listened with regret,* and the prelates were invited to prepare a measure which would meet the necessity. After four days they produced something which to them was satisfactory, but it was found to savour too strongly of their ancient pretensions.† The motion led only to the reappointment of the commission of thirty-two, who were long before to have reformed the canon law; and the fruit of their exertions, when at last it seemed to have acquired vitality, dropped to the ground unripe. The time was passed when the English laity would submit their private conduct to ecclesiastical discipline, whether it was Catholic or whether it was Genevan.

The bishops fail to carry a measure for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline.

* Non sine mærore.—*Lords Journals*, 3 and 4 Edward VI.

† Proceribus eo quod episcopi nimis sibi arrogare videbantur non placuit.—*Ibid*.

CH. 27. In the beginning of January an account was rendered to parliament of the proceedings against the Duke of Somerset. The offences, the substance of which was contained in the letter to the Emperor, were drawn out into twenty-nine articles,* in which, after allowing for legal harshness of form, his errors were not exaggerated. A committee of council carried the articles to the Tower, where they were submitted to the duke for signature. He made no difficulty, but threw himself on the mercy of the crown; and the accusations, with his signature attached to them, were laid before the House of Lords on the 2nd of January. The Lords did not affect to doubt that the subscription was authentic, and had been freely given; but in a matter which might be used as a precedent, too great caution could not be observed, and the Earls of Bath and Northumberland, Lord Cobham and Lord Morley, with four bishops, went to the Tower to examine him in the name of the House. He pleaded guilty to each separate article. On the 14th of January he was deposed by act of parliament from the Protectorate, and sentenced to be deprived of estates which he had appropriated to the value of 2000*l.* a year. On the 6th of February he was released from confinement, giving a bond for his good behaviour, and being forbidden to approach the court without permission.

The deposition of the Duke of Somerset is reviewed, and confirmed by parliament.

Had the full penalty been enforced, it would scarcely have been severe. In three months,

however, such of his lands as had not in the mean time been disposed of, were restored; Somerset himself returned to the Privy Council; and the fortune which he still possessed enabled him to maintain a princely establishment. No English minister had ever descended against his will from so high a station with a fall so easy. Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Michael Stanhope were made to refund 3000*l.* each of public money which they had embezzled; Sir John Thynne as much as 6000*l.*

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
January.

Before parliament rose, Sir William Paget was called to the Upper House as Lord Paget of Beaudesert, Lord Russell was made Earl of Bedford, and Lord St. John of Basing Earl of Wiltshire.

Meanwhile affairs at Boulogne approached a crisis. The Rhinegrave in January brought five thousand men between Boulogne and Calais. Huntingdon, Sir James Crofts, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Leonard Chamberlain carried reinforcements to the garrison almost as large. But on the part of England this display of force was continued only to avoid a dishonourable close to the now fast approaching siege. The drain of Boulogne on the exchequer was incessant and exhausting; and if reasonable terms could be obtained from France, the council had made up their minds to purchase them with a surrender. The first active move towards an arrangement came through the minister of finance at Paris. Antonio Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, offered himself as an instrument

The French prepare for the final siege of Boulogne.

Overtures for a peace come privately from Paris.

CH. 27. of communication, and was permitted to suggest,
 as a fitting close to the long quarrel that, Mary
 A.D. 1550. Stuart being no longer accessible, an alliance
 February. might be effected for Edward with the Princess
 Elizabeth of France.

Commis-
 sioners are
 sent to
 Calais from
 England to
 treat.

The Boulogne question, however, had first to
 be set at rest. Guidotti having passed and
 repassed between London and Paris, Lord Bed-
 ford, Paget, Petre, and Sir John Mason crossed
 in February, to treat with the French commis-
 sioners who would be sent to meet them. Time
 pressed for England. 'The misery, wants, and
 exclamations' of Lord Huntingdon were 'very
 great.*' Sixteen hundred pounds of arrears were
 due to the crews of the ships in Calais harbour, and
 thirteen hundred to the English infantry. Six
 thousand pounds a month was 'all too little' for
 the Lanzknechts in the English pay at Calais and
 Boulogne, and 800*l.* was the whole sum which was
 to be found in the Calais treasury. At Boulôgne
 the beer was gone, there was bread for but six
 days, and the troops were on short allowance,
 Lord Clinton faring like his men. It was only
 by constant and expensive exertions that supplies
 of any kind could be thrown in.

The Eng-
 lish troops
 are in diffi-
 culties.

The conference was held beyond the river oppo-
 site Boulogne. The French were entirely aware
 of the difficulties of the English, and intended to
 take advantage of them. The English, flattering
 themselves with the presence of their troops,
 intended to ask for the pension which Francis

* *Cotton. MSS. Caligula, E. iv.*

had agreed to pay to Henry VIII., for the arrears of their debts, and for the Queen of Scots, and to accept as much or as little as they could get.

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
February.

On the 20th of February a truce of fifteen days was concluded. The commissioners met, and the French came at once to the point. The English asked for the pension. The French, 'precise and imperious,' asked in return if they thought 'France would be tributary to England.' For the debts, they had been made to spend more in the wars than the debts amounted to, and they held themselves acquitted. 'Pensions they will pay none,' the English commissioners reported, 'nor debts none, nor reason will they have none. They have prescribed, as it were, laws, which they call overtures, that we should make white and relinquish old matters, as well pensions, debts, arrearages, and other quarrels, for which and for Boulogne they say they will give a reasonable recompense in money.'*

Commissioners meet on both sides. The French insist on hard terms.

Paget, in a private letter to Warwick, explained distinctly that the tone which the French had assumed arose from no desire to protract the war: they knew merely that Boulogne was in their power, and they intended to exact the conditions which their strength enabled them to impose.

'These Frenchmen,' he wrote, 'ye see how lofty they be, and haultaine in all their proceedings with us. And no marvel, for so they be of nature; and our estate, which cannot be hidden

* Commissioners to the Council: *Cotton. MSS. Caligula, E. iv.*

CH. 27. from them, encreaseth their courage not a little.

A.D. 1550.
February. They will have Boulogne, they say, by fair means or by foul. They will no longer be tribu-

The French
will pay no
debts.
They will
have Bou-
logne re-
stored, and
they will
no longer
pay tribute
to Eng-
land.

taries, as they term it. They set forth the power of their king, and make of ours as little as they list, with such bragging and braving terms and countenances, as, if your lordship had seen Rochpot,* ye would have judged him a man more meet to make of peace a war than of war a peace. Debt

they will recognize none, for they say, though they say untruly, that you have made them spend, and have taken upon the seas of theirs, ten times as much as the debt cometh to. Nevertheless, say they, let us have Boulogne, and wipe away all pretences that you make to us, and ask a reasonable sum, and we will make you a reasonable answer; or, if you will not, in respect of your master's young age, acquit his pretences, let us have Boulogne: we will agree with you for it upon a reasonable sum. Reserve you to your master the droicts that he pretendeth, and we to ours his defence for the same—and so to make a peace; and if you afterwards demand nothing of us, we demand nothing of you. Keep you within your limits, which God hath given you, enclosed with the seas—saving your Calais, whereunto ye have been married these two or three hundred years, and therefore God send you joy with it—and we our limits upon the land, and we shall live together

* One of the French commissioners.

in peace. Other bargains than this we will not make.' CH. 27.

Paget expostulated, entreated, threatened. They ought to have been persuaded, but they were dense and resolute. They stood to their demands, and required an immediate answer.

A.D. 1550.
February.

Paget did not hesitate to say that England must yield.

'Lo, sir,' he went on to Warwick, 'thus standeth the case. Their orgueil is intolerable, their disputations be unreasonable, their conditions to us dishonourable, and, which is worst of all, our estate at home is miserable. What, then! of many evils let us choose the least. First, we must acknowledge what we cannot deny—the evil condition of our estate at home, which recognizance is the first degree to amendment. The next is to know the cause of the evil, and that is war, supposed to be, if not the only cause, at least one of the chiefest among many great. How many—how great occasions of mischief the war hath engendered to England? Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devises to amend this and this, and a hundred mischiefs which make my heart sorry to mark—these be the fruits of war. Then, if the disease will not be taken away, let the cause be taken away; and war, which is one chief cause, must be taken away. But that shall not be taken away, say the French, save upon this condition—they will have Boulogne for a sum of money, and make peace.

The internal condition of England will not permit the war to be protracted,

And Paget urges Warwick to comply.

CH. 27. Well, what moveth us to stick? Consider if we be able to keep it maugre the French. Roch-pot saith and braggeth that their king is not a King John, but a French king such as conquered Rome, and been feared of the rest, and will have Boulogne again, whosoever saith nay; and telleth us how we are in poverty and mutinies at home—beset all about with enemies, having no friend to succour us, destitute of money to furnish us, and so far in debt as hardly we can find any creditors. It is good to consider whether it be better to let them have Boulogne again, and to have somewhat for it, and to live in peace.

A. D. 1555.
March.

‘The pension is a great matter. It is true, they say, the pension was granted; but the time is turned. Then was then and now is now. It was granted by the French king that dead is to the King of England that dead is, and we will use it as you did when the time served you, for we know your estate, and that you are not able to war with us.’*

Menace of
fresh com-
motions in
England.

‘Then was then and now is now’—that was the exact truth of the position; and there was nothing to do but to yield handsomely. Parliament had broken up hastily. The Lords and gentlemen had been dispersed in haste to their counties on a menace of fresh insurrection.† It had been even found necessary to relinquish a portion of the subsidy granted in 1548.‡ ‘Then

* Paget to Warwick: *Lansdowne MSS.* 2.

† Correspondence of the Commissioners with the Earl of Warwick: *Cotton. MSS. Caligula*, E. iv.

‡ 3 Edward VI. cap. 23.

was then and now is now.'—The government CH. 27.
 was in no condition to carry on a war with an A.D. 1550.
 empty treasury, forfeited credit, and a disaffected March.
 people; and considering the circumstances, the
 terms which Paget obtained were not unreason-
 able. On the 24th of March a treaty was concluded,
 by which the English, within six weeks of the day March 24.
 of signature, were to evacuate Boulogne, leaving Peace is
 the fortifications, new and old, intact, and all the concluded.
 cannon and ammunition which had been found The Eng-
 in the town at its capture by Henry VIII. The lish to
 French would pay down for it four hundred leave
 thousand crowns, half upon the spot and half in Boulogne,
 the ensuing August, leaving other claims to and to re-
 stand over. The Scots were included in the ceive for it
 peace. The few small forts remaining to the 400,000
 English on the northern side of the Border were crowns.
 to be razed and occupied no more.* The war
 was over, and the excuse for English disorders
 was at an end.

The government had now the ground open
 before them to show what they could do.
 While the negotiations at Boulogne were in
 progress, an appeal of Bonner was heard, and
 rejected by the Privy Council;† he was left
 in the Marshalsea, and the Knight Marshal
 demanding a fee of him for some unnamed
 privilege, and being refused, revenged himself
 by depriving his prisoner of his bed, and
 leaving him to lie for a week upon the straw.‡

* RYMER.

† *Privy Council Records, MS. Edward VI.*

‡ *Grey Friars' Chronicle, p. 65.*

CH. 27. Ridley, notorious as the opponent of the real presence, was translated from Rochester as his successor in the see of London; Heath, bishop of Worcester, for his opposition to the act against images, in parliament, followed his friends to prison; while the person destined to take Gardiner's place at Winchester, as soon as he too should be deprived, was Ponet, canon of Canterbury, notorious as having married a woman who had a husband living.* The see of Westminster, founded by Henry VIII., was dissolved, and the jurisdiction reannexed to London; Thirlby, his conservative views being inconvenient so near the court, was removed to Norwich; and under such auspices, the excellent Hooper and his Genevan friends, to whom accurate doctrine was the alpha and omega, the one thing essential, began to see the Gospel more triumphant in England than in any corner of the world except Zurich. Warwick seemed to them a most brave and faithful soldier of Christ,† 'a most holy and fearless instrument of the word of God.'‡ John ab Ulmis, a refugee, assured Bullinger that the Earl of Warwick and Lord Dorset 'were the

A.D. 1550.
March.
Catholic
bishops
deposed,
and ultra-
Protestants
advanced
to their
places.

* She was the wife of a butcher at Nottingham, to whom during his lifetime she was obliged to make an allowance. Ponet in 1551 was divorced from her, and married again. Under the date of July 27, 1551, Machyn says (*Diary*, p. 8), 'The new Bishop of Winchester was divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough.' *The Grey Friars' Chronicle* (p. 70) more explicitly

says, 'The 27th day of July, the Bishop of Winchester that then was, was divorced from his wife in Paul's, the which was a butcher's wife in Nottingham, and gave her husband a certain money a year during his life, as it was judged by the law.'

† Hooper to Bullinger, March 27, 1550: *Epistola Tigurina*.

‡ Same to the Same, June 29: *Ibid.*

most shining lights of the Church of England;’ CH. 27.
 ‘they were, and were considered, the terrour and
 thunderbolt of the Roman bishops; and they
 alone had exerted themselves in the Reformation
 of the Church more than all the rest of the coun-
 cil.’* To such men as these it was enough that
 a certain speculative system which they called
 the Gospel should be patronized and the oppo-
 nents of it punished. They asked no more. But
 the Gospel, considered in its more homely aspect
 of a code of duty, was not so prosperous in
 England.

A.D. 1550.
 March.
 Warwick
 earns the
 praises of
 Hooper.

The Gospel
 of faith is
 prosperous
 in England.

The effect upon the multitude of the sudden
 and violent change in religion, had been to re-
 move the restraints of an established and recog-
 nised belief, to give them an excuse for laughing
 to scorn all holy things, for neglecting their
 ordinary duties, and for treating the Divine
 government of the world as a bugbear, once
 terrible, which every fool might now safely ridi-
 cule. Parliament might maintain the traditional
 view of the eucharist, but the administration had
 neutralized a respect which the Lords had main-
 tained with difficulty. Since the passing of the
 Chantries and Colleges Act, the government, under
 pretence of checking superstition, had appro-
 priated all the irregular endowments at the

The Gospel
 of works is
 not so pro-
 sperous.

University
 endow-
 ments are
 seized and
 appro-
 priated.

* John ab Ulmis to Bullin-
 ger, March 25, 1550: *Epistola*
TIGURINÆ. Warwick is gene-
 rally said to have been the ori-
 ginator and contriver of Somers-
 set's deposition. John ab Ulmis
 says, on the other hand, 'These

men'—Warwick and Dorset—
 'exerted their influence and
 good offices on behalf of the
 king's uncle who had been
 plotted against, and restored him
 from danger of life out of dark-
 ness to light.'

CH. 27. universities. They cancelled the exhibitions which had been granted for the support of poor scholars. They suppressed the professorships and lectureships which had been founded by Henry VIII.* The students fell off. 'Some were distracted, others pined away in grief, spent their time in melancholy, and wandered up and down discontentedly.'† Some, and those the wisest among them, 'took upon them mechanical and sordid professions.' Degrees were held anti-christian. Learning was no necessary adjunct to a creed which 'lay in a nutshell.' Universities were called 'stables of asses, stews, and schools of the devil.' While Peter Martyr was disputing on the real presence, and Lord Grey was hanging the clergy on their church towers, the wild boys left at Oxford took up the chorus of irreverence. The service of the mass was parodied in plays and farces, with 'mumblings' 'like a conjuror's.' In the sermons at St. Mary's, priests were described as 'imps of the whore of Babylon:'—an undergraduate of Magdalen snatched the bread from the altar after it had been consecrated, and trampled it under foot. Missals were chopped in pieces with hatchets; college libraries plundered and burnt. The divinity schools were planted with cabbages, and the Oxford laundresses dried clothes in the Schools of Arts. Anarchy was avenging superstition, again, in turn, to be more frightfully avenged.

A.D. 1550.
March.

Learning
declines.

Progress of
irreverence
at Oxford.

* *Annals* of ANTHONY WOOD. Petition of St. John's College to the Duke of Somerset, printed by Wood. Lever's sermon at Paul's Cross, 1550.
† Wood.

In the country the patron of a benefice no longer made distinctions between a clergyman and a layman. If the Crown could appoint a bishop without the assistance of a *congé d'élire*, the patron need as little trouble himself with consulting his diocesan. He presented himself. He presented his steward, his huntsman, or his gamekeeper.* Clergy, even bishops, 'who called them Gospellers,' would hold three, four, or more livings, 'doing service in none;† or if, as a condescension, they appointed curates, they looked out for starving monks who would do the duty at the lowest pay—men who would take service indifferently under God or the devil to keep life in their famished bodies. 'You maintain your chaplains,' said the brave and noble Lever, face to face with some of these high offenders; 'you maintain your chaplains to take pluralities, and your other servants more offices than they can discharge. Fie! fie! for shame! Ye imagine there is a parish priest curate which does the parson's duty. Yes, forsooth—he ministereth God's sacraments, he saith the service, he readeth the homilies. The rude lobs of the country, too simple to paint a lie, speak truly as they find it, and say, 'he minisheth the sacraments, he slubbereth the service, he cannot read the humbles.'‡

CH. 27.

A. D. 1550.
March.

Church patronage in the country is not well administered.

The church services are neglected,

There is no hope that these pictures are exaggerated; and from the unwilling lips of the

* Bucer to Hooper: printed in STRYPE'S *Cranmer*.

† Bucer to Calvin: *Epistolæ Tigurinæ*.

‡ Sermon of Lever: printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii.

CH. 27. Privy Council comes the evidence of the effect upon the people.* The cathedrals and the churches of London became the chosen scenes of riot and profanity. St. Paul's was the stock exchange of the day where the merchants of the city met for business, and the lounge where the young gallants gambled, fought, and killed each other.† They rode their horses through the aisles, and stabled them among the monuments. They practised pigeon-shooting with the newly introduced 'hand-guns,' in the churchyard and within the walls.

A.D. 1550.
March.

And the churches are profaned.

Corruption in the conduct of public business.

In the administration the investigations which followed Somerset's deposition revealed large fruits of carelessness. 'Whalley,' one of the late Protector's friends, Edward writes in his journal, 'being receiver-general of Yorkshire, confessed how he lent my money upon gain and lucre; how he had paid one year's revenue over with the arrearages of the last; how he bought my own land with my own money; how in his accounts he had made many false suggestions.'‡

'Beaumont, Master of the Rolls,' Edward records also, 'did confess his offences how in his Office of Wards he had bought land with my own money; had lent it and kept it from me, to the value of nine thousand pounds and above, more than this twelvemonth, and eleven thousand pounds in obligations; how he, being judge in

* Proclamation for Reform of Quarrels and like Abuses in Churches: *Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. 2.*

† *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

‡ King Edward's Journal: printed in BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

the chancery between the Duke of Suffolk and the Lady Powis, took his title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of money; and letting her have a farm of a manor of his; and caused an indenture to be made falsely with the old duke's counterfeit hand to it, by which he gave these lands to the Lady Powis.*

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
March.

As to the mass of the people, hospitals were gone, schools broken up, almshouses swept away; every institution which Catholic piety had bequeathed for the support of the poor was either abolished or suspended till it could be organized anew; and the poor themselves, smarting with rage and suffering, and seeing piety, honesty, duty, trampled under foot by their superiors, were sinking into savages. From the coast of Sussex was reported the novel and yet unheard-of crime of wrecking. A corn-vessel was driven on shore in a gale; the crew escaped with their lives, and begged for help to save the cargo, but the famished peasants, without other care, plunged upon the corn-sacks.† The people, it was said, 'did increase and grow too much disobedient, robbing, killing, hunting, without any fear, for lack of execution of the laws.' The ancient yeomanry were perishing under the new land system;‡ the labourers, chafing on the edge of insurrection, starved, or lived by lawlessness.

The people
relapse into
anarchy.

* King Edward's Journal: printed in BURNET's *Collectanea*.

† Lord la Warre to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xi. State Paper Office.

‡ Quod omnium miserrimum

est nobile illud decus, et robur Angliæ, nomen inquam yomanorum Anglorum fractum et collisum est.—Petition of St. John's College to the Duke of Somerset: Wood's *Annals*.

CH. 27. The disorganization had penetrated among

A.D. 1550.
March.
English
manufac-
tures once
held in
credit

the traders and manufacturers. English cloth, like English coin, had, until these baneful years, borne the palm in the markets of the world. The Genoese and the Venetian ship-owners took in cargoes of English woollens, in the Thames, for the East. English woollens were the staple with which the Portuguese sailed to Barbary and the Canaries, to the Indies, to Brazil and Peru. The German on the Rhine, the Magyar on the Danube, were clothed in English fustian.* So it had been once—so it seemed it was to cease to be. The haste for riches, well-gotten or ill-gotten, was become stronger than honour, patriotism, or probity. The guilds were powerless when the officers of the guilds were corrupt. And now came from Antwerp the news that huge bales of English goods were lying unsold upon the wharves, ‘through the naughtiness of the making;’ and yet more shameful, that woollens, fraudulent in make, weight, and size, were exposed in the place of St. Mark with the brand of the Senate upon them, as damning evidence of the decay of English honesty with the decay of English faith.†

Lose their
reputation
at Antwerp
and Venice.

Such was the state of things which lay before the successors of Somerset. They were called upon to fight against a corruption which had infected the whole community, and among the rest, had infected themselves. It was easier and plea-

* Report and Suit of a Truehearted Englishman : printed in the *Camden Miscellany*.

† Harvel to the Council : *Venice MSS.* State Paper Office.

santer to earn the title of ministers of God by patronizing teachers who insisted on the worthlessness of 'good works,' and could distinguish correctly between imputed and infused righteousness. Yet there were not wanting honest men who saw in what was round them not the triumph of the gospel, but the disgrace and dishonour of it. Latimer, not always practically wise, was consistent in his hatred of evil, and he was not afraid to speak the truth in the face of the world.

The preacher was closing the third course of sermons which he had delivered before the court. The king was present, the privy council, and the household. He spoke of Nineveh and of Jonah. He sketched the condition of England, where profligacy was no longer held a crime, but something to be laughed at; where the law was so weak, that neither the gentlemen could be compelled to do their duty as landowners, nor the people be kept from rebellion; where avarice seemed to be the only spirit to which men any longer acknowledged obedience, and the officers of the government set the worst and most glaring examples.

'And now,' he said, 'I will play St. Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the king's officer for awhile. I have to lay out for the king twenty thousand pounds—a great sum, whatsoever it be. Well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in mine account, I must give 300 marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
March.

Latimer
preaches
before the
court.

The con-
dition of
the country
is not
satisfactory
to him.

The audi-
tors of the
public ac-
counts are
corrupt.

CH. 27. to give a penny to have my bills warranted? If
 A.D. 1550. I have done my office truly, and do bring in a
 March. true account, wherefore should one groat be
 given? No man giveth bribes for warranting
 his bills except the bills be false.'

The public
 officials
 make their
 own for-
 tunes,

And the
 workmen
 and la-
 bourers in
 the king's
 service are
 robbed of
 their
 wages.

'I speak to you,' he continued, 'my masters,
 minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors,
 and auditors. I make a petition unto you. I
 beseech you all be good to the king. He hath
 been good to you, therefore be good to him;
 yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known
 well enough what ye were before ye came to
 your offices, and what lands ye had then, and
 what ye have purchased since, and what buildings
 ye make daily. Well, I pray you, so build that
 the king's workmen may be paid. They make
 their moan that they can get no money. The
 poor labourers, smiths, gunmakers, carpenters,
 soldiers, cry out for their dues. They be un-
 paid some of them three or four months, yea,
 some of them half a year. Yea, some of them
 put up their bills this time twelvemonths for their
 money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out
 for their money, and as the prophet saith, *Clamor
 operariorum ascendit ad aures meas*—the cry of
 the workmen is come up into mine ears. Oh,
 for God's love, let the workmen be paid if there
 be money enough, or else there will whole
 showers of God's vengeance rain down upon your
 heads. Therefore, ye minters, ye augmenta-
 tioners, serve the king truly. So build and pur-
 chase, that the king may have money to pay his
 workmen. It seemeth ill-favouredly that you

should have enough to build superfluously, and the king lack to pay his poor labourers. I have now preached two Lents. The first time I preached restitution. Restitution! quoth some; what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, quoth they, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution. Then I say, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Choose thou either restitution or else damnation.'

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
March.

He mentioned a story of some one who, conscience-stricken at one of his sermons, admitted that he had robbed the king, and at different times brought him above 500*l.*, which he had paid over to the exchequer. He had said 'to a certain nobleman that was one of the council, if every man that had beguiled the king should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the king twenty thousand pounds.' 'Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a hundred thousand pounds.' 'Alack, alack!' he concluded, 'make restitution. For God's sake make restitution. Ye will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy but restitution, or else hell.'*

Latimer thinks that the fraudulent officials are likely to be damned.

Before the same high audience Lever, at Paul's Cross, attributed the sufferings of the country to the misappropriation of the chantry lands, which had been taken to serve the king in his necessary charges; while 'the king was disappointed,'

Lever preaches at Paul's Cross to the same effect.

* LATIMER'S *Sermons before the King.*

CH. 27. 'the poor were spoiled,' 'learning decayed,' and the hangers-on upon the council only 'enriched.'

A.D. 1550.
March.

Cambridge
is deserted
by the
divinity
students.

'Because ye have no eyes,' he said, 'ye shall hear it with your ears. You have deceived the king and the universities to enrich yourselves. Before you did begin to be disposers of the king's liberality towards learning and poverty, there were in Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, which be now all clean gone, not one of them left. A hundred others that had rich friends, and lived of themselves in ostles and inns be gone, or be fain to creep into colleges, and put poor men from bare livings. In the country, grammar schools, founded of godly intent to bring up poor men's sons in learning and virtue, be now taken away by reason of greedy covetousness in you that were put in trust by God and the king, to erect and make grammar schools. The alms yearly bestowed in poor towns and parishes, to the great displeasure of God, yea and contrary to God's Word and the king's laws, ye have taken away.

The poor in
the country
are robbed
by the
gentlemen.

'The people of the country say that their gentlemen and officers were never so full of fair words and ill deeds as now they be. A gentleman will say he loveth his tenant, but he keepeth not so good a house to make him cheer as his father did ; and he taketh more fines and greater rents than his father had. Another saith he would have an office to do good in his country ; but as soon as he hath authority to take the fee to himself, he setteth his servants to do his duty, and instead of wages, he giveth

them authority to live by pillage, bribery, and extortion. CH. 27.

‘My lords of the laity and clergy, in the name of God I advertise you to take heed. When the Lord of Hosts shall see the flock scattered, spilt, and lost, if he follow the trace of the blood, it will lead him straightway unto this court.’* A.D. 1550.
March.
The track
of the blood
of the poor
leads to the
court.

There must have been good influence as well as bad in high places, or Latimer and Lever would not have been allowed to denounce to the world in such style the offences of government officials. Perhaps the accusations were held to be retrospective, and reflected shame on the displaced Somerset. But this was not the whole.

A return of a nobler and also a wiser spirit began to show itself here and there among individuals. While the endowments of schools and hospitals were fraudulently made away with, and, in spite of the change of government, continued to be pilfered, the Lord Mayor for the year 1549, Sir Rowland Hill, among other large charitable grants, founded and endowed a free school at Drayton, in Shropshire. Sir Andrew Judd, his successor in 1550, ‘erected a notable free school at Tunbridge,’ built a cluster of almshouses for poor men there, and left lands in trust to find a master and under-master, and the necessary supplies for the pensioners; and the example was followed widely elsewhere.† Better
symptoms
appear
among the
London
citizens.

More remarkable, because implying a vigorous

* Sermon of Thomas Lever, preached at Paul's Cross: *STEYFFE Memorials*, vol. iii.

† HOLINSHED.

CH. 27. originating understanding, was an attempt, commenced in London by William Cholmley, to create work on a large scale for the men whom the grazing system had thrown out of employment. Accepting the new condition of things, and assuming that thenceforward sheep-farming and cloth-making would form the chief occupations of the country, he set himself to turn the change to advantage with the instinct of a political economist.

A.D. 1550.
March.
William
Cholmley
suggests a
plan for
finding
work for
the people,

English cloth had hitherto been carried to Holland and Belgium to be dyed, and hundreds of thousands of Flemings found lucrative employment in completing the manufacture before it was shipped from Antwerp for other parts of the world. Cholmley having found by experiment that Thames water was as good for dyeing purposes as the water of the Low Countries, imported Flemish workmen to teach his own English servants. Having mastered their secret, he offered his discovery, through the government, as a free gift to his countrymen; and, in urging the council to take advantage of his proposal, he added a remarkable prophecy that, if England would develope its manufactures, and rely only upon itself for the completion of them, the trade of Antwerp would droop, and London become the mart of Europe.*

And prophesies the
commercial
greatness
of England.

The country in due time would reap the fruits of the intellect and enterprise of Cholmley and others like him. The government of Edward VI.

* Request and Suit of a Truehearted Englishman: *Camden Miscellany*.

could afford but small attention to such things. CH. 27.
 The council had but one all-absorbing occupation
 —to find means, without sacrificing their own share
 of the public plunder, for paying the debts which
 Somerset had bequeathed them. The bills of the
 Flanders Jews, renewed half-yearly with interest
 at fourteen or fifteen per cent., and twelve per
 cent. deducted also on the exchange, were a
 frightful incubus. They must pay, or they must
 give bonds to pay, in sterling silver, while the
 crown rents and the subsidies were paid in a
 currency which was but half its nominal value;
 and the problem taxed to the uttermost their
 financial ingenuity. The four hundred thousand
 crowns were paid by the French for Boulogne,
 and perhaps cleared off some trifle of the score;
 but the possession of so large a sum of money
 tempted the Treasury into speculations which
 would kill or cure. 'Of the second payment of
 the French,' says Edward,* 'ten thousand
 pounds were appointed to win money to pay the
 next year to outward countries,† and *it was pro-*
mised that the money should double every month.'
 The fate of the ten thousand pounds need not be
 inquired into. The *Flanders State Papers* con-
 tain little at this time but monotonous repeti-
 tions of the spendthrift's story—bills renewed as
 they fell due, and fresh loans to pay the interest
 of the old.

A.D. 1550.
 September.
 The coun-
 cil, living
 from hand
 to mouth,
 cannot
 attend.

The ab-
 sorbing
 problem
 was to find
 money for
 immediate
 exigences.

The currency was the great resource; and a

* Journal of Edward VI.: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

† i.e., to the Jews at Antwerp.

CH. 27. notable scheme was invented by which it was hoped the debts in England could be all cleared off. 'It was agreed,' Edward wrote, 'that Yorke, Master of the Mint at the Tower, should make his bargain with me—viz., to take the profit of silver rising out of the bullion that he himself brought—should pay all my debts to the sum of 120,000*l.* or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more but 6*s.* and 6*d.* the oz., till the exchange was equal in Flanders—also that he should declare all his bargains to any should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when I would: for which I should give him 15,000*l.* in prest, and leave to carry 8000*l.* over sea to abase the exchange.'*

A.D. 1550.
October.

The Master
of the Mint
undertakes
to pay the
crown
debts out
of the cur-
rency.

From this scarcely intelligible entry it would be gathered only that some financial evolution was about to be practised which would make two shillings out of one, or something to that effect: and that the crown was to commence with a sacrifice of 15,000*l.* The real nature of the project, however, with the probable effects to be expected from it, was explained a few weeks after, in a remarkable letter from a London merchant to Cecil; and it is well to see with contemporary eyes the extent and bearing of that deep evil which the government, in despair perhaps of any better resource, persisted in inflicting upon the country—teaching the people to execrate, however unjustly, the very name of a Reformation which had brought so dark a curse upon them.

* Edward's Journal: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

‘Forasmuch,’ wrote a certain William Lane to Cecil, ‘as* you be in place where matters concerning our commonwealth are many times talked of, and I in my heart wishing a redress of things that seemeth to me amiss, I am so bold as to utter to you my judgment in these cases following, without redress whereof our commonwealth shall run headlong into more misery; and for that I see a present mischief in hand or coming, I would it were prevented with speedy remedy.

CH. 27.

A. D. 1550.
October.
Remonstrance of a merchant of London addressed to Cecil.

‘Of late not twelve days passed I talked with Mr. Yorke of the mint, who showed me that he was in hand to make a new coin of fine silver that should be eleven oz. fine, and coined in pieces of two shillings the piece, whereof five pieces or a little more should make one oz.; whereof I made the reckoning that one oz. of silver fine being sold to the mint at 6s. 8d., being coined, should make eleven shillings to be paid out again, or little more or less. I said, although the silver were fine, yet was it too dear and the money naught. He answered, that it was richer than the other money late made or now amaking, and much other communication we had not.

The details of the scheme of the Master of the Mint.

‘Now, forasmuch as it is well known that the exchange between our realm and other foreign realms is the very rule that settlETH the price (goods cheap or dear) of almost all things whereof is no scarcity, as well of the commodities and merchandize of this realm as of other foreign commodities brought hither, I will therefore declare

* William Lane, Merchant of London, to Sir William Cecil: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiii. State Paper Office.

CH. 27. what present mischief hath happened since my communication with Yorke, and in these six days hitherward. The exchange as well for Flanders as for France and Spain among the merchants has fallen about seven per cent. by reason of the news of the new coin coming forth, which the people will more better make the reckoning of, and understand the value of now in fine silver, than before in the mixture—which fall of the exchange cometh for fear of the littleness of our silver coin, and is the only cause that all we the merchants of England do rob England and carry away all the gold in the land to foreign realms, for that it is to a more profit than the exchange. And the like of this mischief happened here in England in the months of June, July, and August last, in the which three months were carried out of England not so little as 100,000*l.* of gold (and yet did silver come into England as fast and all for the private gain in coining the silver), for that the pound of gold is richer than the pound of white money; which mischief now present doth cause our gold to be bought up. And when of late the king did call the French crown from 7 shillings to 19 groats, they be now bought up for 7*s.* 3*d.* and 7*s.* 4*d.*, to be carried away as all other gold; so that shortly we shall be quit of all our rich money for a base coin; and then shall follow a greater fall of the exchange, which is the father of all dearth of almost all things that man occupyeth.

A.D. 1550.
October.
The exchange is falling, and prices are rising.

The gold is driven out of England.

‘If we in England should coin six years to come so much white money as we have done in six years past of the value that now goeth, the

plentifulness of the money and the baseness thereof together should bring our commonwealth to that pass that, if you should give a poor man three shillings a day for his day's labour, yet you should scarce pay him such a hire as he might live thereof, which God defend should come to pass; and the private gain in coining silver is the cause of long continuance in coining still; which excess of gain in coining, and continuance of the same, shall bring to pass as is aforesaid, if speedy redress be not had in that behalf. And yet to new fine our base coin cannot be done without more charge than may be borne of the king or the commons.

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
October.

‘Further, this said fall of the exchange within these four days hath caused, or will cause, cloth to be bought at 56*l*. the pack, which before would not have been bought for 52*l*. the pack; so that you may perceive that the exchange doth engender dear cloths, and dear cloths doth engender dear wool, and dear wool doth engender many sheep, and many sheep doth engender much pasture and dear, and much pasture is the decay of tillage, and out of the decay of tillage springeth the scarcity of corn and the people unwrought, and constraineth the dearth of all things. I have, for these six or eight years passed, perceived our commonwealth to be grown into such a costliness and chargeableness of living and expense of foreign commodities, a great part not needful, that the trial being made by the king's customs, you shall find that we spend and consume within this realm such sums and quantities of foreign commodities,

Series of mutually dependent evils hanging, all of them, on the corruption of the currency.

Growth of luxury, and impoverishment of the country.

CH. 27. that all the wool, cloth, tin, lead, leather, coal, and other merchandize to be carried out of this realm, is not able to countervail, pay, or recompense for the said merchandize brought into the realm by one quarter part at least. And so long as the bringing in of superfluous commodities shall exceed in value the richness of our commodities carried out, so long and so much must you needs grant me, that our realm is impoverished, either in money or otherwise. That man which spendeth in a year more than the stynte of his lands and travail of his body doth gain, must needs decay and grow into debt, as doth our whole realm in this point. And yet of late days I understand that there is a restraint of lead not to be carried out of England, which, whosoever did invent, studied as much the hurt of the commonwealth as he that invented that no coals should be conveyed from Newcastle into any foreign port but in a French ship, which, although it is but a coal matter, is such a hindrance to a part of our commonwealth as is worthy of redress.

Advantages
to be looked
for from a
develop-
ment of the
coal trade.

‘ And, forasmuch as I have spoken of coals, I will say a little more. If it were well-considered what was to be done in the coals of England for the benefit of our land, and an order therein set to the most commodity of this realm, it should be found much more beneficial to the commonwealth than it is now taken for; for it might well maintain in England three of our decayed towns or cities, besides the setting on work of three hundred ships daily more than it doth, and the mariners thereof.

‘But in the meantime, and out of hand, for God’s sake, sir, set forward some remedy for the other matter, that we the merchants carry not away all our rich money, and leave the base money here still. Once the excess of the private gain in coining to other men—*supposed as to the king*—may be taken away, and also our base coin of white money called down to fifteen shillings in the pound—though it be not enough, yet will it do great service for the time, and keep many things at a stay which else will come to misery. And although this takes no place, for divers respects known to the rulers and not to me, yet I say there is many more reasons herein to be made which I omit. Sir, I most heartily desire you not to be offended with me for writing this my poor and simple judgment in matters of weight appertaining to councillors or other wise men; for God I take to record, my heart bleedeth in my body to see and perceive the things that be out of frame, and the misery coming towards us, if it be not prevented.’

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
October.
The silver
currency
must be
called
down im-
mediately.

Free English thought would reform in time the economy of the State, as well as the religion of it; but governments are deaf to remedies of slow growth. Cecil preserved the letter among his papers—perhaps he submitted it to his chiefs, but to no present purpose.

The protest
is vain.

The immediate scheme of the Master of the Mint came to nothing. His purchase of bullion in Flanders was interrupted by the authorities at Brussels. But the plate which England could

CH. 27. supply travelled along the same bad road, and all the mints, through the whole year of 1550; plied their abominable trade. Zeal against superstition was the universal pretext for the pillage of the churches. The shrines and crucifixes were already gone. This year, 'the King's Highness having need of a mass of money,' an order of council went out for all the plate remaining in all the churches in England to be brought to the treasury.* 'All the church plate in the Tower was to be melted into wedges' for the great cesspool;† and so narrow was the gleanings, that 'the gold, silver, and jewels' were 'ordered to be stripped' from the mass books, legend books, and such like, in his Highness's library at Westminster. It is to be admitted that the public expenditure was slightly reduced, the debts partially paid off—but it was only by defrauding the public of the means—through the currency.‡ To conceal the fraud which they were practising, or to prevent the consequences of it, Warwick and his friends endeavoured to enforce violently an arbitrary system of prices. The harvest of 1550 was a bad one. The existing scarcity was aggravated by a failure of the crops. The magistrates

A.D. 1550.
October.
Church
plate col-
lected and
coined into
base
money.

The go-
vernment
attempt to
enforce by
violence a
tariff of un-
just prices.

* *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. MS.

† Ibid.

‡ Owing to the carelessness with which the public accounts were kept, it is difficult to ascertain to what the debts of the crown really amounted at any given time. Bills were renewed as they fell due, and the calcu-

lation of money to be provided at any given time only touched what was immediately necessary. It will be seen, however, that, on the whole, Warwick would have accomplished something, had not the remedy which he employed been worse than the disorder to be cured.

were ordered to give the farmers everywhere a scale on which they were to dispose of their produce. If they would not sell, the constables were to enter into possession, to survey their yards, their cattle-sheds, and their dairies, and to sell for them, at the official prices, whatever should appear to have been raised for the market, and not for consumption at home: the proclamation having been received with an outcry, the magistrates were to raise the force of the shires if necessary, to arrest and send to London any wanton or disobedient person who ventured to resist.*

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
October.

If it was so difficult, however, to enforce just prices against the opposition of self-interest, it was not to be supposed that English farmers would submit to have unjust prices forced upon them. The council quailed before the howl of indignation which rose over the country when force was threatened. In a few weeks they were compelled to confess their error, and 'from henceforth to suffer articles of food to be at liberty, and to be sold no other than the buyers and sellers could reasonably agree upon.' †

The farmers refuse to submit, and the government give way.

But it was a bad business—not to be forgotten, when we would explain to ourselves why the English nation acquiesced so readily in the reaction under their coming sovereign.

To return to more interesting subjects.

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xi.

† *MS. Ibid.* — Sir John Mason, writing to Cecil, condemned the conduct of the government as utterly wrong

and useless. 'Nature will have her course,' he said, 'and never shall you drive her to consent that a pennyworth shall be sold for a farthing.'—*TYTLER*, vol. i. p. 341.

CH. 27. The Duke of Somerset, on the 18th of February, received a formal pardon.* In the beginning of April he resumed his duties as a privy councillor. On the 3rd of June his reconciliation with Warwick was cemented by the union of Lady Anne Seymour with Lord Ambrose Dudley. The summer pageant of the marriage ceremony was at Shene upon the Thames. The king was present, and the French ambassadors also, who had arrived in England on the conclusion of the peace, and had been entertained by the lords in a series of gorgeous entertainments.† On the 4th, the day following, Lord Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester afterwards) was also married at the same place—the fact being chiefly memorable through its consequences—to the daughter of Sir John Robsart.

A.D. 1550.
April.
The Duke
of Somerset
is restored
to the
council.

June.
Festivities
on the
Thames.

Joan
Bocher
burnt, not-
withstand-
ing the
repeal of
the heresy
statute.

These scenes of brilliancy had followed close upon another scene which was not so brilliant. In May, Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, who had been left in prison by Somerset's heresy commission, had been sent to the stake. She was a pious worthy woman it appears, a friend of Anne Askew, who had died the same death a few years previously. Her crime was an erroneous opinion on the nature of the incarnation; and, inasmuch as the statute for the punishment of heresy by death had been formally repealed, the authorities were obliged to fall back upon the traditions of the common law—much as if a judge in these days was to order a man to be

* RYMER.

† EDWARD'S JOURNAL.

hanged for sheep-stealing, notwithstanding the alteration of the law, because hanging was the ancient traditionary treatment to which sheep-stealers were liable.* Ridley reasoned with Joan the day before her execution: 'it was not long ago,' she said, 'since you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, yet came yourselves to believe the doctrine for which you burnt her; and now you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will believe this also.'† She would not recant, and so she died, being one of the very few victims of the ancient hatred of heresy with which the Reformed Church of England has to charge itself. Yet, although Protestants were instinctively more susceptible of the altered feelings which the progress of time and of the world brings with it—although earlier than Catholics they awoke to a wiser judgment of the nature of theological errors—the doctrine of persecution is nevertheless an essential part of all dogmatic systems, and the causes which first compelled the Reformed Churches to toleration, have acted more slowly, but with equal effect, upon their rival. The

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
May.

Toleration
is not a
virtue
peculiarly
Protestant,

But was
forced alike
upon the
Reformers
and the
Catholics.

* The panegyrists of Edward VI. have described his pathetic agony at signing the death warrant. The entry in his Journal on the subject shows no particular emotion. It is a notice of the punishment of a criminal for an offence for which he certainly had no sympathy.

† Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding that Christ was not incar-

nate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion—the 30th April the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.' — Edward's Journal: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 208.

† STYFFE, *Memoriale*, vol. iii.

CH. 27. Court of Rome could as little venture at the present day to send an unbeliever to the stake, as the Court of St. James's; and the code of canon law for which the Reformers of the Church of England desired the sanction of parliament, was no more tolerant of what the Church of England considers heresy, than the code of the Inquisition.*

A.D. 1550.
May.

The council could persecute heretics. They were earnest, too, in the purification of the faith from superstition. The conscientious acceptance of the Prayer-book was possible as yet to believers in transubstantiation. The Prayer-book, with the help of the foreign refugees, was about to be revised, and Ridley was no sooner settled in the see of London, than he

* Cranmer, and the other authors of the *Reformatio Legum*, include, in a list of heresies, 'The denial of the inspiration of the Bible,' or 'of the inspiration of the Old Testament,' or 'of the two natures in Christ.' For the way in which these opinions were to be dealt with, they say: 'Fideles omnes in nomine Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi obtestamur ut ab his opinionibus pestilentissimis se longissime abducant. Et ab illis etiam vehementer contendimus qui rempublicam et ecclesiam administrant ut istas hæreses ex regno nostro penitus evellendas et radicitus extirpandas quantum in se est curent.'

A heretic was to be tried by a bishop. From a bishop he might appeal to the Court of Arches, and from the Court of Arches to the King's Bench.

'Qui vero,' the proposed law continued, 'qui vero nec admonitionem nec doctrinam ullâ ratione admittunt sed in Hæresi prorsus induraverunt, primum hæretici pronuntientur. A iudice deinde legitimæ feriantur excommunicationis supplicio. Quæ sententia cum lata fuerit, si infra spatium sexdecim dierum ab hæresi recesserint, primum exhibeant publice manifesta penitentis indicia. Deinde solennitur jurent in illâ se nunquam hæresi rursus versaturos. Tercio contrariæ doctrinæ publice satisfaciant, ac his omnibus impletis absolvantur—Cum vero penitus insederit error . . . tum consumptis omnibus aliis remediis ad extremum ad civiles magistratus ablegetur puniendus, etc.'—*Reformatio Legum*.

undertook in his own diocese to anticipate the alterations. On the 11th of June, at night, the altar at St. Paul's was taken down, and a table erected in its place, signifying in the change that the body of the Saviour was no longer broken and offered in the sacrament, but that human beings merely partook together of innocent bread and wine.* The council followed up the bishop, and directed the same change to be introduced throughout England. The Bishop of Chichester, hesitating to obey, was summoned to London, and shut up with Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath. The Bishop of Durham, who was also one of the recusants, being one of Henry's trustees, was less easy to deal with. A charge of conspiracy was brought against him;† but it broke down for want of evidence, and for the present he was left at liberty. Dr. Chedsey was sent to the Fleet for seditious preaching, and White, the warden of Winchester, for having in his possession anti-Protestant books.‡

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.

June.

Ridley takes down the altar in St. Paul's.

The Bishop of Chichester is deprived,

The next movement—in the confidence that the Emperor was not in a situation to resent it—was against Mary; and the consequences were more serious than the council expected.

And measures are contemplated against the Princess Mary.

I must again review briefly the state of things on the Continent. On the 10th of November, 1549, the chair of St. Peter fell vacant. Paul III. had ended his pontificate—broken-hearted, it was said, at the revolt of his grandson Octavio;

* STREYFE, BURNET, STOW. *Grey Friars' Chronicle*.

† *Records of Privy Council, MS.*

‡ *MS. Ibid: STREYFE'S Cranmer.*

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
Paul III.
dies No-
vember 10,
1549.

The great-
ness of his
pontificate.

but his age (he was 82), and the anxieties and labour of the fifteen years of his reign, would rather cause surprise at the strength which had endured so long. Men who have spent their lives in political battles, who have had some years' experience of the dispositions of their fellow-creatures, do not die of small disappointments, and the intellectual sinew of Paul would not have been broken by the disobedience of a boy. Yet, if by such a cause his last hours were embittered, he was punished in his solitary weakness of affection for his kindred. If consistency and dauntless bearing command respect wherever they are found, Paul III., as a ruler of men, may claim a place among the politically great. On the death of Clement VII. the papacy was dying, the human life was gone from it. But the phantom had risen from the grave, and was again towering up over Europe in menacing grandeur. Scotland had been saved; France, which was trembling on the edge of revolt, had returned to partial allegiance; the Smalcaldic League was broken; and, in dying, Paul might feel that the Reformation had spent its force, that the worst was over.* But who was to succeed? France

* *Clarissimæ memoriæ Princeps . . . arma sæpius moverat adversus Christi hostes. Catholico sanguine a se nunquam respersa. Inchoaverat diuque promoverat concilium ex obstaculis perarduum, ex rebus in eo agitatæ amplissimum et ad reparandam disciplinam prævalidum, inter reliqua, quæ*

unquam in ecclesiâ coaluissent. Immoderato suam erga stirpem amore se hominem prodidit. De reliquo herois nomen apud ecclesiam nactus est.—PALLAVICINO.

Of the personal character of Paul III. strange stories were afloat. Before his death a pamphlet appeared dedicated to one

had its nominee, and the Empire had its nominee. CH. 27.
 Reginald Pole offered himself in the interests of
 religion. An Italian faction, under the young
 Cardinal Farnese, Octavio's brother, held the
 balance among the rival parties, and Farnese was
 said to be Imperial. It was reported at Brussels
 that he had promised Charles twenty voices in
 favour of any one that he might name; and
 scandal added that, to settle all questions, Charles
 might perhaps nominate himself.* Such a solution
 of European difficulties would have been as complete
 as it was, unfortunately, impossible. The cardinals
 went to work at the end of December, and the
 first favourite was Pole. Farnese was personally
 for him, the Imperialists were not against him,
 and Pole at one time was so confident of success,
 that he composed an oration to the conclave to
 be delivered on his election.† But the Italians
 generally were lukewarm, and the French were
 hostile. Once, at a midnight meeting, if we may
 believe a theatrical story of Beccatelli, there was
 a moment when the feeling was so far in his
 favour that he might have been chosen on the

A.D. 1550.

The cardinals meet to choose his successor.

Reginald Pole was first favourite,

of the Colonnas, and ascribed to Bernard Ochín—(the account of it is given by Sleidan)—charging Paul with crimes which the annals of the Borgias would not parallel. The writer, with circumstantial minuteness, declares that the Pope in his youth had been imprisoned for two murders—that he had poisoned his mother and one of his nephews—that he had poisoned a sister whom he had first corrupted, &c.

The probability is immeasurably great, that all charges produced long after date against persons who have excited the animosity of a theological or political faction are lies.

* Sir Thomas Cheyne to the Council: STYFFE, vol. iii. p. 298.

† Gratiani: quoted in PEE's *Life of Pole*.

CH. 27. spot by adoration. But the opportunity, if it existed, was allowed to pass. Morone, a decided Imperialist, was proposed next, and proposed by Pole; but the French were able to keep out Morone, though unable to carry their own candidate Salviati; and, in the end, Farnese brought forward the president of the council at Bologna, Cardinal del Monte; del Monte having privately promised that, if elected, he would forsake France, no longer oppose the Emperor, restore Parma to Octavio, and reunite the council at Trent.

A.D. 1550.
But was
excluded
by the
interest of
France.

Cardinal
del Monte
is chosen,
with the
title of
Julius III.

Easy, timid, and self-indulgent, Cardinal del Monte was a neutral character on which opposing factions could agree. On him the choice fell at last; and under the name of Julius III. he occupied (his dwarfed dimensions could not fill) the vacant throne of Paul III. His first act showed the conduct which was to be looked for from him. A Pope, on his election, was allowed by custom to bestow the red hat which he vacated at his own private pleasure. Julius III. raised to the high dignity of a cardinal a favourite and beautiful page who had the care of his Holiness's monkey. The new Jupiter, the irreverent world exclaimed, had taken up into heaven a second Ganymede.

The Ger-
man Diet
to meet at
Augsburg.

So much for the Papacy. The Emperor now supposed that his difficulties would be at an end. The council would collect again at Trent, and the Germans would be compelled to submit to it. The Diet was summoned to meet at Augsburg at midsummer; Prince Philip was sent for from Spain; and theological and political questions

merging into one, the representatives would be invited, not only to give their allegiance to the council, but to make the Empire hereditary, and to nominate Philip as Charles's successor. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and presumptive successor, had promised, it was said, to relinquish his pretensions in Philip's favour;* and though Ferdinand disclaimed any such engagement, and his son Maximilian had no inclination to make way for his cousin, the Emperor believed that he could bear down opposition. The Pope was in his interests, and the Catholic States of Germany would act as the Pope wished; while they were secretly promised that the Lutheran divines should appear at the council, not as members upon equal terms, but as accused persons, upon their trials.†

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
Philip is
sent for
from Spain.

Charles V.
desires to
make the
Empire
hereditary.

Magdeburg continuing to hold out against the Interim, was declared under the ban of the Empire. The London council having followed in the ways of Somerset, there was no longer a question of a renewal of intimacy with England. After a quarter of a century of patience, Charles imagined at last that he could declare himself openly as the enemy of heresy in all its forms.

On the 29th of April, before leaving Brussels for the Diet, he issued an edict for the government of the Netherlands, which bore in time its fatal fruit in the Alva persecutions. He had done his best, he said, by moderate measures to

He issues
an edict
against the
Protestants
in the Low
Countries.

* Sir John Mason to the Council: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 296.

† Ibid.

CH. 27. keep his subjects to the true faith. He had learnt, to his sorrow, that not only were they infected too deeply to be cured by moderate means, but that foreigners who traded amongst them (he alluded particularly to the English), were systematically spreading contagion in their towns. Be the consequences what they might, heresy should now come to an end; heretical books should circulate no longer in his dominions; he would have no conventicles, no rebaptisings, no conspiracies, no disputings on doubtful passages in Scripture. The saints should receive their honours; the municipal liberties of the towns should no longer protect evil deeds and evil doers; and he would trifle no longer in inflicting punishment.

A.D. 1550.

Heresy
shall come
to an end.

Women
shall be
buried
alive; men
shall be
executed.

‘Men and women,’ said the Emperor, ‘who disobey my command shall be punished as rebels and disturbers of public order. Women who have fallen into heresy shall be buried alive, and men shall lose their heads, even if they desist from their errors; if they continue obstinate, they shall be burnt; and whichever be their punishment, their goods shall be forfeited: * they shall be incapable of making a will: from the moment of their proved delinquency, their acts as citizens shall be null and void:

* J'ordonne que ceux qui agiront contre ces défenses soient punis comme séditeux et perturbateurs du repos public, et je condamne les femmes à être enterrées toutes vives, et les hommes à perdre la tête en cas qu'ils désistent de leurs erreurs, mais tous à être brûlés, s'ils y demeurent obstinés, et à la confiscation de leurs biens quelque supplice qu'ils subissent.—SLEDAN, vol. iii. p. 64.

if man or woman be suspected of heresy, no one shall aid, protect, or shelter him or her; they shall be denounced to the nearest inquisition. Those who have fallen into heresy, who of their own accord have repented and been received to grace, if they again reason or argue on the subject of their errors, shall be punished as relapsed: those who are suspected, although there be no proofs against them, shall abjure and do penance; no honour, public office, or dignity whatsoever shall be conferred on any man who has once been tainted: no stranger shall be admitted to a lodging in any inn or private house unless he bring with him a testimonial of orthodoxy from the priest of the place where he has resided. The inquisitor-general shall have power to examine into the belief of every man, from the highest to the lowest, and all and any officers of all kinds shall assist the inquisitor, at their peril if they neglect or refuse; those who know where heretics are concealed, shall denounce them, or shall suffer as heretics themselves: those who give up heretics to justice shall not be liable to punishment, though they be themselves heretics, if they will for the future conform. And the penalties hereby threatened shall be inflicted, and shall not be relaxed; and judges who neglect their duty shall not escape unpunished. Those who are cited and do not appear, shall be assumed to be guilty, and treated as guilty; those who intercede for offenders shall suffer as abettors of heresy.'

CH. 27.

A. D. 1550.

No one shall assist or protect the suspected.

No one shall travel without a testimonial of orthodoxy from his priest.

Those who conceal heretics shall suffer as if they were heretics themselves.

The circumstantial minuteness of the edict

CH. 27. carried terror into every town in the Low Countries. Orthodoxy was no security, unless accompanied with the extinction of all human charity. From city and village streams of refugees poured out toward the ports, and on board vessels bound for England. England became the island of refuge to which the exiled Flemings brought with them their arts and industry; and, as forlorn and naked they set foot upon the British shores, the honourable humanity with which they were received, sheltered, and sustained must be counted among the not too many virtues of Edward's ministers. Austin Friars was made over to those who remained in London, with lands and farms to support their clergy; and the clergy themselves were enrolled as a body corporate and exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction.* The Duke of Somerset at his own expense established a colony of Walloon weavers among the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey.†

The
Flemish
Protestants
take refuge
in England.

The Mag-
deburgers
lose a bat-
tle, but still
refuse to
surrender.

The Emperor meanwhile went resolute to Augsburg, where he carried a vote in the Diet binding Germany to submit to the Council of Trent. The Duke of Mecklenburg entered the territory of the Magdeburgers. They made a sortie upon him, and were defeated utterly, with the loss of their artillery. The fate of Lutheranism appeared to be sealed; yet the Magdeburgers still would not surrender. Surrender, they said grandly, implied the mass, and the mass they would receive never.

* RYMER.

† *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

But they could die without difficulty; they made up their minds to the worst; and the news of the edict in the Low Countries did them service, bringing the old soldiers of the Landgrave and the Elector to their aid in thousands. In all reasonable probability, however, their resistance was hopeless. The Diet voted a force, the command of which they petitioned the Emperor should be given to Duke Maurice. The Emperor, who, notwithstanding the duke's resistance to the Interim, and his suspicious absence from Augsburg (he had been represented there by deputy), either trusted him or did not choose to appear to distrust him, consented; and Maurice relieved the Duke of Mecklenburg, took the field in November, and laid formal siege to the city.

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.

Duke Maurice besieges Magdeburg.

It was at this moment, when the Emperor was at the height of his confidence, and England was harassed, distracted, and impoverished, that the opportunity was taken to withdraw the privilege from the Princess Mary of using her own religion, and of compelling her to submit to the Act of Uniformity. When a hint of what was intended went abroad, the Imperial ambassador made a formal request that she should not be interfered with. He was met with a direct refusal; and although no immediate steps were taken, yet Mary had reason to know that before long constraint would be used towards her, and arrangements were contrived between herself and the Regent of the Low Countries for her escape to Antwerp. The Flemish admiral, Skipperus, was on the coast of Essex, and had been inspect-

April 15.

July.
The English council propose to interfere with the Princess Mary, who meditates an escape to Flanders.

CH. 27. ing the landing-places.* The princess was to ride down some night, under cover of the darkness, from her house at New Hall, and Skipperus would be in the way to carry her off. The project was not new. On her mother's death, fifteen years before, a similar escape had been contemplated, and had been relinquished, perhaps out of dread of Henry's resentment.† The difficulty was now less considerable. Mary was older and more experienced. Her escape, it was thought, would be easy, and when accomplished, would be followed by war and insurrection.‡ The peers of the old blood, more than ever discontented at the aspect of public affairs, had withdrawn in displeasure to their estates; and as Warwick attached himself more and more to the ultra-Protestants, a second schism was making itself felt among the council. A State paper, unfortunately imperfect, reveals the opinion of Sir William Cecil on the seriousness of the situation.

A. D. 1550.
July.

* Edward's Journal, July 13: BURNET's *Collectanea*, p. 21.

† The plan is detailed in a long letter from the French Ambassador to Charles V., dated Feb. 17, 1536, among the archives at Brussels. The ambassador's alarm for himself is expressed with much emphasis. 'S'il estoit question d'entendre et proceder a l'exemption de la dicte enterprise, il ne seroit l'honneur de votre Majesté que je restasse icy: car tout le monde ne sauroit oster de credulité a Roy par quelque couleur ou ouverture que l'on y scait donner,

qui ne tint que fusse l'inventeur et promoteur du tout: et par consequent chose du monde ne me pouvoit eschapper qu'il ne me fit passer le pas. Car en ce comme autres choses voudroit il montrer sa grandeur et donne d'entendre qu'il n'a respect ne crainte de personne.

‡ There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, ambassador with the Queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the Lady Mary and so to begin an outward war and an inward conspiracy. — EDWARD'S *Journal*, August 14.

‘The Emperor,’ says this paper,* ‘is aiming at the sovereignty of Europe, which he cannot obtain without the suppression of the Reformed religion ; and unless he crushes the English nation, he cannot crush the Reformation. Besides religion, he has a further quarrel with England, on account of the Lady Mary, and the Catholic party will leave no stone unturned to bring about our overthrow. We are not agreed among ourselves. The majority of our people will be with our adversaries;† and it is reasonable to think that, although so long as all is quiet the crown can maintain tranquillity, should war break out, they will listen rather to what they will consider the voice of God calling on them to restore the Papacy, than to the voice of the king calling on them to obey. The great body of the peers—some of the council—all the bishops except three or four—almost all the judges and lawyers—almost all the justices of the peace—the priests and vicars—will be on the same

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
Sir William Cecil explains the dangers which menace England.

The reforming measures of the government are very unpopular;

And, in event of invasion, the people cannot be relied upon.

* Argumenta periculi nisi curâ divertatur, imminetis.—In Cecil’s handwriting: *M.S. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office.

† ‘Non consentimus inter nos ipsos neque major multitudo defensare est hanc causam sed potius suscipere adversariorum causam. Major pars magnatum qui absunt ab aulâ, et aliqui eorum qui hic etiam agunt, Episcopi omnes præter tres aut quatuor, iudices et legisperiti pene omnes, justiciariorum

pene omnes, presbyteri et sacrificuli qui suam plebem movere possunt in quâvis parte; quia universa plebs irritatur adeo ut facile velit sequi mutationes quascunque.’ This paper has a date upon it of November, 1551. But the date on papers of loose notes cannot always be depended on, and internal evidence would refer it rather to November, 1550. By the next year there were more than three or four bishops on the Reforming side.

CH. 27. side; and the commons are in such a state of irritation, that they will rise at a word.' *

A.D. 1550.
Likelihood
of a fresh
rupture
with
France.

1. Prizes
taken in
the wars.

To add to the peril, there seemed a danger of a fresh rupture with France. In the late peace all questions save that of Boulogne had been reserved for future settlement, and among these were many which could not be allowed to lie over. In the anomalous character of the war, during its earlier stages, merchant ships had been taken on both sides by privateers, and it was uncertain whether they were lawful prizes. The French desired that a joint commission should sit to settle all maritime claims. The English council said that they had no power by law to consent to such a commission; their own Admiralty Court had been constituted for the express purpose of dealing with maritime questions, and dealing with them by the civil law of Europe, not by the common law of England. The complaints of French merchants against English cruisers must be heard there or nowhere.†

* Nam at aliqua estimatio habebatur cogitandum est quamdiu princeps quietum habeat regnum, tamdiu legibus possit suos regere. Sed si in arma ob defensionem causæ forte fuerint vocati, tum dubium est velintne audire principis vocem an ut illi indicant Dei pro restaurando Papismo.

† 'As concerning the commissions, answer has been made that in all the parliaments and generally all the courts of France where law is ministered, though some places have their

particular customs, the law civil is observed, kept, and practised, and so it is likewise in the great courts of Brabant, Flanders, and Malines. So that it is easy enough, either for the French king as the Emperor, to appoint persons in any of the said courts or parliaments to hear any cause that the princes shall think good to appoint and commit unto them. But throughout all this realm of England, in all the courts of justice, are observed the laws of the realm, and all causes and controversies judged by the same, so

Another cause of difference was the Calais frontier. On the edge of the Pale an abbey had stood called Sandingfeldt, which, in old times, with the estates attached to it, had, as church property, been neutral ground. The abbey had been suppressed, and the land secularized, but the rights over it asserted by the English were denied by the French. They, too, on their side, entered into possession, built farms, and broke the ground, and a series of petty collisions had followed between the labourers.*

On the part of the English government, a third grievance appeared, which seemed as if it was caused

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.

July.

2. The Calais frontier.

as no other laws have place— which laws of the realm are not the civil laws, nor are grounded upon them, nor have no conformity unto them, so as the knowledge of the civil law serveth nothing at all for the understanding or exercising of them. Wherefore the King's Highness can appoint none out of his ordinary courts of this realm to hear any kind of causes unless the said causes be judged and determined by the laws of the realm, and not the civil law. And we think the French king's subjects, being ignorant of the said laws of the realm, would not gladly have their causes and matters judged thereby. . . . Thus it is that forasmuch as strangers are not acquainted with our laws, to shew them favour, the King's Highness's progenitors have thought good to erect and set up a court of matters chanced upon the seas or out of this realm; in the which court process is

made and justice is ministered according to the law civil, the which court is called the Admiralty Court; where the said strangers' causes are examined, whether the controversy be between themselves or against the king's subjects. And to the intent that strangers should have the better expedition of their causes, it is ordained that in the said court that process be made *summaris et de pleno*. And for because that the chief resort of all strangers in this realm is London, therefore the said admiral hath set up his court at London. These things considered, we cannot see nor devise how the French king's subjects' causes may be discussed more for their ease and commodity than in the said Admiral's Court.—The Council to Sir John Mason, September, 1550: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

* *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

CH. 27. by a feeling of revenge for their bad success in Scotland. The natural route from Paris to Edinburgh lay through London. The Archbishop of Glasgow, returning out of France, neglected to apply for a passport; he was taken prisoner, and held to ransom; and Lord Maxwell, who did apply, was refused.* The prisoners taken at St. Andrew's, though still detained in France, had been released from the galleys and prisons at the peace, through English intercession. The French court desired that the archbishop and other Scotch prisoners in England should be set at liberty in return.† Mason, instructed by the council, said that, if the Scots might go where they pleased, the archbishop should go also. Henry answered good-humouredly, but nothing was concluded.

A.D. 1550.
July.
The right
of passage
to Scotland
in time of
peace.
The Arch-
bishop of
Glasgow is
arrested.

Two parties in the French government. Two factions continued to divide the Paris government. The Ultramontanes, the Guises,

* The council gave a curious reason for their refusal. 'The common passage of Scots and Frenchmen through the realm,' they said, 'is so cumbrous and hurtful to the King's Majesty's subjects, that therein is daily complaints made of the outrages and evil usages of the king's subjects by such Scots and French as daily pass through the realm by post. And yet because we would not seem ungrateful, we have licensed such Frenchmen as come expressly from the French king, or that be commanded by their ambassadors here. And certainly there is double more passage of the French

king's servants through this realm than is of the King's Majesty's own—inasmuch as for the ease of the people no Englishman here is suffered to ride by post, but upon his own horse.'—Council to Mason: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

† 'I have, at your request,' said the French king to Mason, 'set at liberty the Scots, which else, by yon sun, should have rotted in their prisons, so cruel was their murder. By my troth, I cannot tell how to answer the world for lack of justice—one good turn deserves another.'—Mason to the Council, July 20: *MS. Ibid.*

and Catherine de' Medici, were for peace and alliance with the Emperor. They hated England; they desired to follow up at Calais their success at Boulogne, and they made the most of these petty disagreements. Montmorency and the king inclined to the older anti-Austrian policy, and the tone of the court changed from day to day.*

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
July.
The queen and the Guises desire war with England.

The English council, on mature thought, released the archbishop, and Henry released the Scots; but Mason wrote that he had no confidence, and knew not what would happen. 'Trust them,' he said, 'as you will best trust to yourselves; and the best trusting of another is so to trust him as, if he would deceive, he shall not be able to bring his deceitful intent to pass.†

The French king releases the prisoners at St. Andrew's.

Owing to cross influences and want of will, the other differences could not be arranged. The constable and the king declared privately their own desire that peace might be maintained, but with an evident doubt if it would be possible. 'Means might be found,' they hinted, that is to

* Doctor Wotton, writing to Cecil, said: 'The danger is lest our trusty and well-beloved, I dare not say right trusty and well-beloved friends of France, will use the occasion when she serveth for their purpose; and knowing the great desire that they have to live at peace with us—that is to say, to have Calais again—for the keeping thereof, they say, is the only cause of any war betwixt us, and they

having recovered that once from us, would not fail ever after to live in peace with us), an orator of less eloquence than Tully might peradventure persuade me that our said friends, having such occasion, would have as much respect to their commodity as to their promises.'—Wotton to Sir William Cecil: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office,

† Mason to the Council, November 3: *MS. Ibid.*

CH. 27. say, the English might, if they liked, relinquish formally their claims on the Queen of Scots, and accept a French princess for Edward in her place. That would be something, but without it the Guises' influence would probably prevail.

A.D. 1550.
December.

A French nobleman urges the convenience of the opportunity to strike and humiliate England.

At length, Mason wrote, in the last week of December, 'in a great assembly at the court, some one,' probably the Duke of Guise himself, 'in a studied oration persuaded the war against England, and to declare the likelihood of good success therein, he set forth the lack of government, of captains, of victuals, money, and munition; and the people,' he said, 'were so ill-contented, as never looked the lark so much for the day as they did for the entry of some foreign prince; so was it the easiest thing in the world not only to annoy England, but *de nous emporter de tout*, and now was the time to recover all the dishonour that France had in times past sustained by that peevish isle.'*

Indeed, the ambassador said, something must be done, and done quickly; 'were it nothing more than the stay of our own people at home; we are at this present so loose with all the world, that our surety hangeth as it were but in the wind; a straight league with a notable knot would restore unto us our reputation abroad, which undoubtedly is not undecayed.'†

* Mason to the Council: *MSS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

† Among the *Cotton. MSS. Vespasian*, D. 18, is a paper on the state of public affairs by

William Thomas, clerk of the council, addressed to Edward, to whom at this time he was acting as a sort of political tutor. It is headed, 'My private opinion touching your Majesty's outward

Never perhaps was England in a position which demanded greater skill, wisdom, and

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
December.

affairs at the present,' and has been printed by STRYPE: *Memo-rials*, vol. iv. p. 382. The following extract is the sketch of the position of England:—'Time was, in the days of your father of famous memory, that this estate, being dreaded of all neighbours, needed not to esteem any of them more than itself was esteemed; but now the case is so altered, that, because we are both hated and contemned of them all, we must either redeem our estimation or else perish. One of two things must be won—either friendship to help us, or time to make ourselves strong. As for friendship, I see not which way any is to be gotten without either an extreme disadvantage or the denying of our faith, neither of which is tolerable. And as I believe it is impossible we should have any perfect amity with any foreign prince that dissenteth from us in religion, so, because we have no neighbour of uniform religion, we can find no friend whose amity is to be trusted. Wherefore we must of force turn unto time, to see how much we may win thereof, and what we may win withal; and because neither is our force so ordered that we may trust thereby to win time, nor our treasure such as may purchase it, therefore our extremest shift is to work by policy. We have two puissant princes to deal withal—the French king, a doubtful friend; the emperor, a dissembling foe. The one hath

done us already displeasure; the other we are sure will do it if he can. For what quarrel hath he to the Germans but religion, wherein he hath sworn rather to spend his life than not to reduce it to his own manner? and when he shall have overcome those few that rest, which are of small account in respect of his power, where shall he end his fury but against us? I wot well that some are of opinion that Magdeburg with the confederate cities shall keep him occupied a while. Some others add that the Germans are not yet won to the papistical sect; and some others reckon upon the Turks coming into Hungary. But I am persuaded the Emperor estimates this matter of Magdeburg very little, and much less the German Protestants, and least of all the Turks; and we have great cause to mistrust both his purposes and himself. On the other side, the French king is already in possession of Scotland, and practiseth in Ireland amongst a people that loveth liberty, and for every small hope of gain will be ready to revolt, wherein, if he should prevail, we might reckon ourselves besieged, and in manner environed of enemies.

'So, when time shall draw either of their swords, and we unprovided, as presently we are, then must we either perish or be a prey to the one of them, or, at the best, receive intolerable conditions. For, say what men

CH. 27. energy; and what were her statesmen doing? and what had they been doing? They had prevented Mary's escape; and they had not as yet forcibly altered the service in her chapel. They had taken precautions also for their own personal security; a hundred yeomen had sufficed to guard the court in the stern times of Henry VIII.; in the era of liberty it was necessary to raise them to a thousand.* For the rest, they were engaged on two matters of grave magnitude—the prosecution of Gardiner, and the great vestment controversy.

A.D. 1550.
June.
The council
find it
necessary
to increase
the guard.

Somerset,
having
partially
recovered
his power,

The Duke of Somerset was again powerful. In the signatures of the council to public acts his name once more headed the list. On the 28th of May he carried the nomination of Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester, against a vehement opposition;† and he showed a disposition to re-assert his old pretensions, which alarmed either the jealousy or the regard of Warwick.‡ In some directions, however, he was inclined

will, our power without some friendship is of small substance—yea, though we were all as good subjects as Edward III. had, whereas now I fear me there be as well hollow as whole hearts to be found.

* This day it was debated whether it was convenient that the King's Majesty should have a number of men at arms in ordinary, as well for the safety of his Majesty's person as for the stay of his unquiet subjects, and for other service at all events, which, after long disputation, was thought and concluded upon as a thing very necessary.—

Privy Council Records, MS. February 25, 1550–51. From the accounts of subsequent musters and reviews, nine hundred or a thousand seems to have been the number of men maintained.

† John ab Ulmis to Bullinger: *Epistola* TIGURINÆ.

‡ Whalley to Cecil, June 26, 1550: *MS. Domestic*, vol. x. State Paper Office. This letter has been printed by Mr. Tytler, and introduced by him into his defence of Somerset; but he has mistaken the date by a year, and on the date his argument turns.

to use his recovered influence wisely. Ashamed CH. 27.
perhaps of the part which he had himself borne A.D. 1550.
in the treatment of the Bishop of Winchester, June.
he moved in council, on the 8th of June, that,
considering the bishop's long imprisonment, if
he would now conform himself and be obedient,
he should be restored to his diocese.* The
duke, Bedford, Northampton, Petre, and the Endea-
Earl of Wiltshire, went to Gardiner to the Tower, vours to
taking with them a copy of the Prayer-book. If obtain the
he would accept it without reserve, they told him release of
he should be released. The bishop said that he Gardiner,
had been treated with injustice; but, for that
matter, he was ready to let the past be the past:
as to the Prayer-book, if he accepted it as a
prisoner, it would seem as if he had accepted it
under constraint; he desired them, however, to
leave the book with him; he would examine it,
and give them an answer. They complied, and
after a few days they returned. The bishop then Who under-
told them that, if he had had the making of the takes, on
book, he would not pretend that he would have his part, to
made it as it was; but the doctrine of the real accept the
presence being recognised, his conscience was Prayer-
satisfied; he would obey the law, and do his best book.
to make his clergy obey. This seemed to be
enough. He was weary with his imprisonment,
he said. They promised that it should not last
any longer; in two days he should be free. The
rumours of his approaching liberation spread
over London; he himself gave his farewell
dinner at the Tower; and the Duke of Somerset,

CH. 27. had it rested with him, would have kept his word.

A.D. 1550.

June.
Somerset
promises
that he
shall be set
free.

But it was the misfortune of Somerset that he could not do one thing at a time; or, perhaps, in making the promise, he had exceeded his powers. The connexion of Warwick with the ultra-Protestants created on his part an extreme unwillingness to see Gardiner again at liberty. Somerset was exerting himself at the same time to obtain the pardon of two of the Arundels, who had been concerned in the Cornwall insurrection. He had taken the part of the Earl of Arundel, who was in disgrace and had been fined;* and Warwick's faction suspected him of aiming at the recovery of the Protectorate. They determined to thwart him, therefore, in his attempt to undo his own early injustice; or if Gardiner was to be at large, he should be fettered with other conditions beyond a mere consent to the Prayer-book.

The ultra-Reformers, however, resolve that he shall not escape so easily.

A month was allowed to pass. At the end of it, on the 8th of July, Warwick, Ridley, and Sir William Herbert carried to the Tower a set of articles for the bishop's signature, in which he was required

* 'My Lord of Warwick is a most dear and faithful friend unto my Lord's Grace (of Somerset). His whole nature was vehemently troubled with his Grace's proceedings of late. Sunday times overcome with the full remembrance thereof, he showed the inward grief of his heart with not a few tears.

'The sum of all was, that my Lord's Grace hath so unadvisedly attempted the enlargement and

delivery of the Bishop of Winchester and the Arundels, as also his Grace's late conference, as he taketh it, with my Lord of Arundel, it pleased him, I say, to be so plain with me as he letted not to say the whole council doth much dislike his late attempts.'—Whalley to Cecil: June 26, 1550; misdated by TITLER, June 26, 1551. *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

to admit the right of the council to exercise, during a minority, the powers of the head of the Church; in which he was to approve the repeal of the Six Articles Bill, with the disuse of fasting; and further, to confess that he had broken faith with the government, had offended the law, and deserved his punishment.* Gardiner signed the articles of faith; he would not degrade himself with signing a confession of fault. He had suffered wrong, but he had committed none, and he would rather, he said, 'tumble himself desperately in the Thames' than plead guilty when he knew that he was innocent. Even if he 'condemned himself,' he could feel no certainty that he would not be betrayed.† The

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
July 8.

He is required to plead guilty, and to admit that he had been justly punished.

* 'Whereas I, Stephen Gardiner, have been suspected as one too much favouring the Bishop of Rome's decrees and ordinances, and as one that did not allow the King's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the King's Highness's council and admonished thereof: and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach, have not done as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same, whereby I have not only incurred the King's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects have by my example taken encouragement, as his Grace's council is certainly informed, to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings; I am right sorry, therefore, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his Majesty that of his

great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me, not according to rigour, but mercy; and to the intent that it may appear to the world how little I repine at his Majesty's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most prudent, I do affirm, and say freely, without any compulsion, as ensueth.'—*Privy Council Records, MS.* Printed in the account of the proceedings against Gardiner in Foxe, vol. vi.

† 'Although I did more esteem liberty of body than defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done, yet was I not assured to come out; for when I was by mine own pen made a naughty man, I might only have locked myself more surely in.'—Gardiner's Statement on his Trial: Foxe, vol. vi.

CH. 27. privy councillors were resolute on their side. The bishop might make his submission in other words, if he preferred it; but he should admit himself in fault, or in the Tower he should remain. He begged, 'for the passion of God,' that, if he was guilty, he might be put on his trial, and his guilt proved. He exclaimed against the iniquity of a confinement to which no law had condemned him, and which no justice sanctioned. Ridley told him calmly, 'that it was the hand of God. He was there because he had so troubled other men.'

He refuses, and harder terms are then required of him.

A.D. 1550.
July.

His subscription to the articles had given the council an advantage over him, and they pursued it. On the 13th of July, besides the required admission of guilt, a fresh list was presented to him, containing propositions dogmatically Protestant, which he was not only required to sign, but to undertake to teach and preach.*

* 1. That King Henry, for good reason, suppressed the monasteries, and released monks and nuns from their vows.

2. That all persons might lawfully marry within the Levitical degrees.

3. That pilgrimages and image worship were justly put away.

4. That the counterfeiting St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Catherine, and St. Edmund, by children, heretofore brought into the church, was a mockery and foolishness.

5. That the Bible in English was good for every man to read, and whoever would hinder the reading did evil and damnably.

6. That the chantries were justly suppressed.

7. That the mass was a fiction of the Bishop of Rome.

8. That communion in both kinds was to be approved.

9. That the priest should receive for the congregation was an invention of man.

10. That the elevation of the Host had been justly and wisely prohibited.

11. That the king had done well in removing the images from churches.

12. That the king and parliament had done well in abolishing mass books, grayles, &c.

13. That bishops and priests may lawfully marry.

14. That the laws prohibiting their marriage had been justly repealed.

He was weary of the Tower. He had surrendered himself to the hope that he was to be free, and he could not part with it. He refused to sign, and again demanded a trial; but he threw himself on the king's mercy; he would accept a pardon, he said, and in accepting it confess that he had offended. The council saw his weakness, and determined to trample on him. He was sent for on the 19th to the presence chamber. The articles were read over to him, and his signature demanded on the spot. He once more insisted that he should be tried. They said he should not be tried—he should submit unequivocally without further words. He was allowed three months to consider his answer; his bishopric, meanwhile, was pronounced sequestered; if at the end of that time he was still obstinate, he should be deprived.*

Remanding Gardiner to the Tower, they took the opportunity of inflicting a special wound on his supporter the Duke of Somerset.† On the

CH. 27.

A.D. 1550.
July.
Gardiner
partially
yields, but
being more
hardly
pressed,
demands a
trial.

15. That the doctrine of the homilies was good and wholesome.

16. That the book of the consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons was godly and wholesome.

17. That the *Minors Ordines* were wisely disused.

18. That Holy Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation.

19. That it had been well done to set up the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus in the parish churches.

* The account of Gardiner's treatment is taken from the

Register of the Privy Council and from his own narrative, printed by Foxe (vol. vi.), and from the story told by Foxe himself, who disguised and apologized for nothing, regarding the whole proceedings, in fact, as most exemplary and just.

† Doubtless there was reason to distrust Somerset's intentions, and he had not forgotten his overbearing ways. Being desirous of adding to his property in Somersetshire the episcopal palace at Wells, in this same July he required the bishop (Barlow) to surrender it. Barlow hesi-

CH. 27. 18th of October, before Gardiner's answer was delivered, old Lady Seymour, Somerset's mother, died; and a state funeral would have been the natural and becoming privilege of the grandmother of the reigning sovereign. If she was buried privately, the duke might have been accused of disrespect to the crown. If he ordered a public solemnity on his own responsibility, it might provoke jealousy. If he appeared at court in mourning, it would imply that the court itself should be in mourning. He thought it prudent, therefore, to consult the council, and this was the result:—The Lords 'weighed with themselves that the wearing of doole and such outward demonstrations of mourning not only did not any ways profit the dead, but rather served to induce the living to have a diffidence of the better life to come to the departed in God by changing of this transitory life; yea, and divers other ways did move and cause scruple of coldness in faith unto the weak.' They reflected, 'besides, that many of the wiser sort, weighing the impertinent charges bestowed upon black cloth and other instruments of those funeral pomps, might worthily find fault with the expense thereupon bestowed.' 'Considering, therefore, how at this present the observation of the times of outward mourning and wearing of the doole was far shortened and omitted, even among mean persons, from that it was wonted to be; considering, further, how private men should

A. D. 1550.
October.
Lady Seymour dies.
The Duke of Somerset consults the council about a public mourning.

The council consider that public mourning is expensive, useless, and unchristian.

tating to give away the property of the see, the duke threatened, if he would not go, 'to push him out headlong.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. x. July 24.

reserve their private sorrows to their own houses, and not diminish the presence of their prince with doleful token,' the council, or 'the king,' for they used his name, 'did specially dispense with the said duke for the wearing of doole either upon himself or upon any of his family, or the continuing of other personal observances such as heretofore were had in solemn use, as serving rather to pomp than to any edifying.'*

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
October.

So singular a theory of the duties of the living to the dead, if sincere, had been hastily adopted, and with equal haste was forgotten. On the 4th of August Lord Southampton had been buried with the usual solemnities, and the funeral sermon had been preached by Hooper. On the 7th of the ensuing March, Wentworth, the Lord Chamberlain, was interred in Westminster Abbey, when 'there was a great doole,' says Machyn,† and 'a great company,' and 'Miles Coverdale did preach.'

The opinion of the council was suddenly adopted, and as suddenly forgotten.

The three months allowed to Gardiner had now expired, and, after all, for the sake of decency a trial, and a very tedious one, was conceded to him. A court was formed at Lambeth, where Cranmer presided. Ridley, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and two other bishops sate as assessors.

The case opened on the 15th of December, and the voluminous and weary proceedings were protracted through twenty-two sessions. The Lords

Dec. 15.
Gardiner is brought to trial, at Lambeth,

* *Privy Council Records, MS. Edward VI.*

† MACHYN'S *Diary*, March, 1551.

Сн. 27. of the Council, the officers of the court, the clergy
 A.D. 1550. of Winchester, Gardiner's personal servants, in
 December. all more than eighty witnesses, were examined.
 The bishop was accused of having attempted to
 create a disturbance in his diocese. The charge
 broke down. He was accused of having armed his
 household. It was replied that, in common with
 other gentlemen, he had put his house in a state
 of defence, in consequence of the disorders of the
 country. He was convicted of having professed
 conservative opinions: he was proved to have
 been suspected by Henry VIII. of a tendency
 towards Rome, and his name had been therefore
 omitted from the list of executors. He had been
 concerned further, three years before Henry's
 death, in the prosecution of various members of
 the royal household, when his conduct had been
 especially displeasing to the king:* and it was
 proved further that Henry believed he had held
 some secret communication with the Emperor, at
 the time of his last embassy, on the state of
 religion in England.

And con-
 victed of
 holding
 opinions
 opposed to
 the Refor-
 mation.

And, fur-
 ther, of
 having
 failed in
 preaching
 such a
 sermon as
 the council
 could ap-
 prove.

But for these offences he could not be plausibly
 punished. The prosecution, therefore, turned
 upon his sermon. He had complied inade-
 quately with the royal injunctions. He had

* His past history was searched with the most zealous scrutiny. Every expression which Henry ever used in his disfavour had been treasured up, and was produced against him. It is quite certain, therefore, that, if there had been so much as a
 basework of truth for the Pro-
 testant legend of his attempt to
 destroy Catherine Parr, it would
 have been made the most of on
 this occasion. I look on that
 story, not as exaggerated reality,
 but as pure unadulterated fable.

aggravated his offence by irreverent demeanour towards his judges. He was declared, therefore, to have been guilty of a misdemeanour against the commonwealth; and he was pronounced, on the 14th of February, by the president, to be deposed from his bishopric.* When his sentence was read, he called his judges 'heretics and sacramentaries.' The council sate the day following to determine on his further punishment; and they decided not only that he should remain in the Tower, but, whereas up to this time he had resided in the King's gallery with some comfort, had been allowed the use of the Tower garden, and his friends had been permitted to visit him—he was now 'to be removed to a meaner lodging,' he was to hold no communication with any person out of doors, his books were to be taken from him, and 'henceforth he should have neither pen, ink, nor paper to work his detestable purposes.'†

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
December.

He is therefore deprived of his office, and sentenced to remain a prisoner in the Tower.

Having seen that their orders were executed, the council transmitted an account of the proceedings to the ambassadors at foreign courts, as something, on the whole, creditable to the government of a great country. Seeing that the two great military powers of the Continent were both of them threatening England, and a war with either would probably scatter the whole Protestant party to the winds, the other great question with which they were agitating themselves seems at such a time even more singular.

* The whole account of the proceedings, with the depositions of the witnesses, is in the sixth volume of FOXE.

† *Privy Council Records*, MS. Edward VI.

CH. 27. In the last parliament a service for the consecration of bishops and priests had been added to the formularies, and had given offence to the ultra parties on both sides. The Anglican was frightened at the omission of the oil, which might impede the transmission of the apostolic powers. The Protestant was outraged at the continued use of 'vestments,' which marked the priesthood as a peculiar body; 'at' the oath 'by God, the saints, and the holy gospels,' which bishops were to swear on admission to their sees, and at a use of the Bible, which savoured of magical incantation.*

A.D. 1550.

The service for the consecration of bishops and priests gives offence.

March 27. It is denounced before the court by Hooper.

When the service was published, Hooper, the most prominent, but at the same time by far the best and most high-minded of the fanatical faction, denounced it in a lecture before the court as treason to the gospel. Cranmer complained of his language to the council, and Hooper was invited to explain himself. The archbishop spoke with unusual vehemence; but Hooper, who tells the story, says 'that the end was to the glory of God.'† His friends supported him, and he was dismissed unpunished.

After this it was no small triumph to his

* The archbishop, after consecration by the imposition of hands, was to place the Bible on the neck of the new bishop. The agitation of the Protestants prevented them from being able to describe accurately what was required of them. Burcher, telling Bullinger of the ceremony,

says: 'The bishop create must carry the Bible on his shoulders, put on a white vestment, and thus habited, and bearing the book, he is to turn himself round three times.'—Burcher to Bullinger: *Epistolæ TIGURINÆ*.

† Hooper to Bullinger: *Ibid*.

party that, on the death of Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, Hooper was nominated, by Somerset's influence, as his successor, in the teeth of the whole Episcopal bench. It was understood that in his own person the prelate elect intended to resist the idolatrous usages. 'Hooper,' wrote Christopher Hales to Gualter, 'was appointed Bishop of Gloucester two days since, but under godly conditions. He will not allow himself to be called my lord, as we are wont to say; he will not receive the tonsure; he will not be made a magpie of;* nor will he be consecrated or anointed.' 'At his nomination,' said John ab Ulmis, 'a great struggle was made about the ceremonies and vestments of the Popish priests—say, rather, stage actors and fools; but Hooper was victorious.'† It must be said that Hooper had not himself courted elevation. He was an unselfish agitator, and when the bishopric was first proposed to him he refused it.‡ But he was the representative of a principle, and his narrow but conscientious inflexibility fitted him to be the champion of an opinion. Edward, who was now fourteen, and was steadily taking a part in public business, was one of his chief admirers, and Edward, with Warwick's help, carried his point so far as the powers of the council extended. The abolition of the *congé d'élire* made the

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
May.
Hooper is
nominated
Bishop of
Gloucester.

He refuses
to be con-
secrated, or
to take the
oath.

* *Non vult pica esse*—to be dressed in black and white, and chatter by rule.—Hales to Gualter, May 24: *Epistole* FIGURINÆ.

† John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, May 28: *Ibid.*

‡ Hooper to Bullinger, June 29: *Ibid.*

CH. 27. appointment a matter only of letters patent.

A.D. 1550.
Edward
might
dispense
with the
oath.

The oath being to the crown, the crown could alter the form or dispense with it. When Hooper pointed out the objectionable name of 'the saints,' the young king flushed up indignantly zealous. 'What wickedness is this?' he said. He took a pen and scratched out the word.* But the consecration service could not be so easily got over. It had been affirmed by act of parliament; and, although the bishops could have been forced to consecrate by a premunire, had the difficulty been on their side, a premunire could not compel a reluctant nominee to undergo a ceremony which he disapproved.

But the
consecra-
tion service
cannot be
got over.

Cranmer, who had once maintained that the crown alone could make a bishop, had modified his views. The bench was unanimous that the service must be maintained. As doggedly Hooper declared that he would wear no vestments, he would have no Bible on his neck, he would not change his coat for the best bishopric in England. Warwick interceded, and the boy king talked of putting out the power of the supremacy and dispensing. But Ridley would have no dispensation, and Hooper would have no surplice, and the public world of the Reformers was shaken to its base. The English divines in general took the side of the bishops; the foreign divines were expected to be on the side of the gospel; and Hooper turned first to Bucer, who was then lecturing at Cambridge. To the sad discouragement

The Re-
forming
world is
convulsed.

* John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, August 22: *Epistolæ Tigurinæ*.

of the ultra party, Bucer believed that there were things in the world more important than vestments. He had expressed his opinion freely to the council on the condition to which they were reducing England. About the time when the Hooper controversy began, he had told Calvin that there was no religion at all in England. The bishops, he said, were snarling about their doctrines, the lords were appropriating the Church estates and plate, and in their hearts cared nothing for the Reformation at all; clergymen professing to be Evangelicals held four or five livings, and officiated in none; repentance, faith, and good works—the vital parts of religion—no one thought of at all; and unless God worked a miracle for the sake of the innocent king, some great catastrophe could not be far off.* In such a disposition he could feel

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
Hooper appeals to Bucer, who has no good opinion of the state of England,

* Res Christi hic geritur ut nisi Dominus innocentissimum et religiosissimum regem atque alios aliquot pios homines singulari respiciat clementiâ, valde verendum sit ne horrenda Dei ira brevi in hoc regnum exardescat. Inter Episcopos hactenus de Christi doctrinâ convenire non potuit, multo minus de disciplinâ — paucissimæ parochiæ idoneos habent pastores: pleræque venundatæ sunt nobilibus: sunt etiam ecclesiastico ordine atque ex iis quoque qui Evangelici videri volunt qui tres aut quatuor atque plures parochias tenent nec uni ministrant, sed sufficiunt sibi eos qui minimo se conducere patiuntur, plerumque qui nec Anglice legere possunt quique

corde puri Papistæ sunt. Priores regni multis parochiis præfecerunt eos qui in cænobiis fuerunt ut pensione eis persolvendâ se liberarent qui sunt indoctissimi et ad sacrum ministerium ineptissimi. Hinc invenias parochias in quibus aliquot annis nulla sit habita concio.

Cum de hac tam horrendâ ecclesiarum deformitate querelæ deferuntur a sanctis hominibus ad regni proceres dicunt his malis mederi esse episcoporum. Cum deferuntur ad episcopos evangelium pridem professos respondent illi se ista emendare non posse, &c.—Bucer to Calvin, *Whitsuntide*, 1550: *Epistola Tigurina*, p. 356.

CH. 27. small sympathy with a fever about a white dress and a few gestures. To Hooper's appeal he replied coldly, that for himself he preferred simplicity, when simplicity could be had; but while the great men in England were giving benefices to their grooms—when the services in churches were left to be performed by men who could not read, and might as well be Africans or Hindoos as English—while congregations employed their time in laughing and story-telling, other things, he thought, should be first attended to: if earnest men would set themselves to contend against perjury and adultery, theft, lying, and cheating, 'the very bones and sinews of Antichrist, whereof he altogether consisted,' the wearing of apparel would in all likelihood admit of settlement afterwards.*

A. D. 1550.
And considers that other matters are more important and more pressing.

* Bucer to Hooper: printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*. In the same spirit Bucer wrote to Alasco the Pole, who was President of the foreign congregation at Austin Friars.

'The more diligently,' he said, 'I weigh and consider both what fruit we may gather by this controversy of vestures, and also what Satan goeth about thereby to work, I would have wished before the Lord that it had never once been spoken of; but rather that all men of our function had gone stoutly forward, teaching true repentance, the wholesome use of all things, and the putting on the apparel of salvation.'

'I see in many, marvellous

diligence in abolishing Amalek concerning stocks and stones, vestures, and things without us, when in their acts and lives they maintain the whole Amalek still. I know that some help forward this strife, so that in the meantime the chief essentials may be less regarded, the staying of sacrilege, and the providing decent ministers in the parishes.

'In all outward things the churches should be left free. If white dresses can be abused, they can also be used innocently. Let the white dress be taken to signify the purity of the Christian life. There can be no offence then; and officers of all kinds must wear something to distinguish them, that their office may

Finding no comfort from Bucer, the suffering Hooper turned to Oxford to Peter Martyr; to meet, however, with the same indifference. Peter Martyr told him, like Bucer, that the thing was of no consequence at all—that it was foolish and wrong to quarrel about it. When changes were being introduced of vital moment, the retention of outward forms was not only tolerable, but of high importance and utility; the imaginations of the people were not disturbed, their habits were not shocked; they would listen the more quietly to new doctrines, and the form in due time would follow the matter.*

CH. 27.
A.D. 1550.
October.
Hooper turns to Peter Martyr, who gives him the same answer.

Strange it seemed to Hooper that such men could not see that the evils which they spoke of as of so much importance were the fruits of Antichrist, not the substance of him. It was the form which gave the soul to the matter. The surplice was, as it were, Satan's magic robe and enchanter's cloak of darkness—the secret of his strength and power. Alone he must fight the battle of the Lord, then. His pulpit rang, Sunday after Sunday, with invectives against disguised popery. He became so violent at last, that he was inhibited from preaching, and commanded to confine himself to his house. His tongue being silenced, he wrote a pamphlet, in

Hooper will tread the wine-press alone.

be known and respected.'—Bucer to Alasco: *Epistolæ Tigurinae*.

Bucer died a few months after; his companion, Fagius, was already gone; good men both of

them, Bucer especially, who at such a time could be ill spared.

* Peter Martyr to Hooper: STEYNE'S *Cranmer*.

CH. 27. which he reflected upon the council; and on the 12th of January he was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be 'either reformed or further punished, as the obstinacy of his case required.'* In the intervals of Gardiner's trial, Cranmer endeavoured to reason with him; but he found him 'coveting rather to prescribe order to others' than to obey; and, to make an end of the matter, the council sent him to the Fleet. °

A.D. 1551.
January.
He becomes
violent,
and is com-
mitted to
the Fleet,

Where he
recovers
his senses,
and gives
way.

Here, at last, he recovered his senses. The king excused him the oath. He himself agreed to wear the Nessus garment during the few hours of consecration, if he might tear it off before it had poisoned him, and in his own diocese might wear it or not wear it, as he pleased.

So closed this child's battle, leaving us at no loss to understand how before long England might weary of such men and such men's teaching.

Sir Thomas
Chamber-
lain is for-
bidden to
use the
English
service at
Brussels.

The dispute with the Emperor was now threatening to precipitate itself. The council having forbidden Mary her mass, and having prevented her from escaping out of England, Chamberlain, the English resident at Brussels, wrote on the 12th of January to say that, contrary to the privilege of his office, he had been interdicted in return from using the English communion service.† The Flemish ambassador was sent for, and was told that, if Chamberlain was interfered with at Brussels, the council would be

* *Privy Council Records, MS.*

† *Ibid.*

obliged to withdraw his own licence in England. He said he would report their message; meanwhile in his master's name he repeated the demand which he had presented in the last year, that the Princess Mary should be allowed to continue in the religion in which she had been educated. When the English court desired the Emperor's alliance against France, they had given him to understand that the licence which she then had should be continued. They had given a promise, in fact, and the promise must be fulfilled.

CH. 27.

A.D. 1551.
February.
The Emperor claims
a promise
of toleration
for
Mary.

The council replied that there had been no promise; there had been a conditional toleration for a time, but circumstances had altered, and it was withdrawn. The ambassador answered peremptorily that there had been a promise; and that it had been made to the Emperor himself. The council said it was impossible; no one among them had authority to make any such engagement; and for the thing itself, 'the example was too perilous in any commonwealth to grant a subject licence to violate a law;' 'it was too dangerous for a Christian prince to grant a liberty that one of his subjects should use a religion against the conscience of the prince.'*

High words
are ex-
changed
between
the Empe-
ror's am-
bassador
and the
council.

Chamberlain was ambassador in the Low Countries. Sir Richard Morryson was attached to the court of Charles, and followed him wherever he moved. Through Morryson, therefore, the

Feb. 22.

* The Council to Sir Richard Morryson : *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

CH. 27. direct communications of the council were transmitted. They on their side sent their account to him of what had passed. The Flemish ambassador sent his. Morryson reported that the Emperor had received both versions with the greatest displeasure. As to Chamberlain or himself, no services, Charles swore, should be used in his dominions by any foreigners, ambassadors or otherwise, except the ancient services of Christendom. If his own ambassador was interfered with in England, he had orders to leave the country in an hour. Let the council meddle with him if they dared.

If the ambassador is forbidden to have mass in his house, he is commanded to leave England.

Mary is called on to appear at court, and explain her conduct.

The council were too obstinate to yield, too cowardly to persevere: for the moment they did nothing; but they made use of the opportunity of an accidental change of residence, on the part of Mary, to excite suspicion against her, and call out a popular demonstration of patriotism which would strengthen their hands. They issued a circular, expressing a fear that she was in correspondence with foreign powers who contemplated an invasion of England, and they called upon her to appear at the court and explain herself.* Mary obeyed. In the midst of a demonstra-

* 'This her doing' (her change of residence from Essex to Hertfordshire) 'we be sorry for, both for the evil opinion the King's Majesty our master may thereby conceive of her, and for that by the same doth appear manifestly the malicious rancour of such as provoke her thus to breed and stir up, as much as in

her lyeth, occasions of disorder and unquiet in the realm, wherein we know there lacketh not both labour and means of those that be strangers to this realm, and would gladly have the realm so disordered in itself, that it might be a prey to the foreign nations; which thing, as God hath hitherto defended, so we nothing doubt

tion indeed, but not such as the Lords had hoped and desired, she rode into London surrounded by a retinue of peers, knights, and gentlemen, every one ostentatiously wearing a chain of beads. After resting two days at a house at St. John's, she went in the same state through Fleet-street and the Strand to Whitehall, amidst the benedictions of tens of thousands of people.* To their fevered imaginations, the earth round the city seemed to shake. 'Men in harness' were seen sitting in the air, who 'came down to the ground and faded away.' 'Three suns appeared, so that men could not discern which was the true sun.' The princess alighted at the palace gate. She was first introduced to the king, and afterwards she went at his side to the council chamber. 'It was then declared to her how long her mass had been suffered in hope of her

CH. 27.
A.D. 1551.
March.
Mary enters London in state.

She rides to the palace, where she is required again to conform, and again refuses.

but that, through his grace conserving us by obedience to our master in concord, we shall always, as true and mere Englishmen, keep our country to be England, without putting our heads under Spaniards' or Flemings' girdles, as their slaves and vassals. It is not unknown to us, but some near about the Lady Mary have very lately, in the night season, had privy conference with the Emperor's ambassador here being, which counsels can in no wise tend to the weal of the King's Majesty our master in his realm, nor to the nobility of the realm. Wherefore, since these be the unseemly proceedings of the Lady Mary, and as it should appear, set forward

by strangers to make some disorders of the people in the realm, knowing how of late years the base sort of people have been evil-inclined to rebellion, we do, in the King's Majesty's behalf, most earnestly desire you to see to the order of your countie, and prevent any disturbance arising among the people. The effect whereof, if her councillors should procure, as it must be to her Grace and to all other good Englishmen therein seduced, damnable, so shall it be most hurtful to the good subjects of the country.'—Circular of the Lords of the Council: *MS. State Paper Office*, March, 1551.

* Machyn's Diary: *Grey Friars' Chronicle*.

CH. 27. reconciliation;' as that hope had ceased, it was to be suffered no longer. What was said of her supposed intrigues, or if anything was said, does not appear. The mass was the great question on which all else was turning.

A.D. 1551.
March.

Mary, whose will had never yielded to man's, except it was her father's, replied that her soul was God's. She would not change her faith, nor would she 'dissemble her opinions with contrary doings.' The council told her that no constraint was laid upon her faith. She must conform her practice. She was not a king to rule, but a subject to obey the laws. Her example might breed inconvenience.*

Consistent, however, to her plea, that laws made in a minority were no laws, she would neither admit their argument, nor flinch in her own resolution. The interview led to no results. Mary left the presence, and returned to the house in Essex, from which her removal had been made the pretext of agitation.

The Emperor threatens war, unless she is allowed to use her own religion.

The council took no further steps for the next two days. On the 19th the 'Emperor's ambassador'† 'came with a short message from his master of war'—the liberty which he demanded for the Princess Mary or *war*—Cecil's expectation seemed to be on the edge of fulfilment.

The Earl of Warwick finds himself in difficulties.

'The Earl of Warwick,' Sir Richard Morryson writes, in describing his conduct on this occasion,† 'had such a head, that he seldom went about anything but he conceived first three or four purposes

* EDWARD'S *Diary*. † EDWARD'S *Journal*, March 19, 1551.

† Discourse of Sir Richard Morryson: *MS. Harleian*, 353.

beforehand.' Warwick was meditating an alliance with France, could it be effected. But it might not be effected, and Edward's health was precarious and he was unwilling therefore to come to an open breach with the Emperor, or to make an irreconcilable enemy of Mary. At the same time he had cast in his lot with the extreme Protestants, to whom Edward was more and more attaching himself. He must therefore keep friends with all, 'that he might, as time should teach him, allow whether of them he listed, and fall in with him that might best serve his practices.'

CH. 27.

A.D. 1551.
March.

On the delivery of the Emperor's message, when the council was looking in one another's faces, he suggested they were inadequate judges in a case of conscience, and they should consult the bishops. Cranmer, Ridley, and Ponet were sent for. 'The realm, the bishops were told, was in great peril, and like to be utterly undone, if either the Emperor would take no nay or the king would give him no yea;' in such extremity, was it lawful to yield?

The question is referred to the bishops.

The bishops asked if war was inevitable, should the king persist? Being told that there was no hope of escaping it, they begged for a night to consider their answer. The following morning they gave an opinion, as the result of their deliberation, that—

'Although to give licence to sin was sin, yet if all haste possible was observed, to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne.'*

Who consider, on the whole, that, of two evils, the less may be chosen.

* Compare MORRISON'S *Discourse* with EDWARD'S *Journal*, March 20, 1551.

CH. 27. The king's attendance was then requested.

A.D. 1551.
March.

As Edward entered, the Lord Treasurer (Paulet, Earl of Wilts) fell on his knees, and told him that he and they and the realm were about to 'come to naught.' They must give way, pacify the Emperor, and let the princess do as she desired; the bishops said that it might be done.

Edward asks the bishops for Scripture authority;

'Are these things so, my Lords?' said Edward, turning to them. 'Is it lawful by Scripture to sanction idolatry?'

'There were good kings in Scripture, your Majesty,' they replied, 'who allowed the hill altars, and yet were called good.'

'We follow the example of good men,' the boy answered, 'when they have done well. We do not follow them in evil. David was good, but David seduced Bathshebah and murdered Uriah. We are not to imitate David in such deeds as those. Is there no better Scripture?'

The bishops could think of none.

Which they fail to produce.

'I am sorry for the realm, then,' the king said, 'and sorry for the danger that will come of it; I shall hope and pray for something better, but the evil thing I will not allow.'

Nevertheless, their advice is acted on.

So Morryson tells the story, to set off the noble nature of Edward. If Edward, however, was as unreasonable, and the bishops were as absurd, as Morryson describes, wiser arguments proved more conclusive in favour of moderation.* To gain time, the council delayed their answer to the ambassador. They determined, not for the mo-

* EDWARD'S *Journal*, March 21.

ment to put a stop to the princess's mass, but to punish all who attended it except herself; and when the ambassador became pressing, they promised to send a special commissioner to the Emperor, who, it was hoped, would satisfy him. Forced into prudence at last by the péril of the situation to which they had brought themselves, they sent Sir William Pickering at the same time in haste to the court of France, to ascertain if, on the terms which Henry had hinted to Mason, they could strengthen themselves with some kind of alliance.

CH. 27.

A.D. 1551.
March.
The council
give the
Emperor an
evasive
answer,

If England, however, was still saved from the consequences of the incapacity of its rulers, it again owed its preservation to fortune. The events of Europe had turned the scale at Paris against the schemes of the Guises, and the recovery of Calais was postponed for a few more years. Octavio Farnese, with his duchy of Parma, had been driven backwards and forwards in the eddies of Italian politics. He had been Imperialist when Paul III. kept him from his possessions; he had been reinstated by Julius; but Julius, now on good terms with the Emperor, had attempted again to eject him; and, to save himself, he had thrown himself upon France. Gonzaga still held Piacenza. A French garrison was in Parma. The Pope, to settle the differences between the great Powers, proposed that the duchy should be reannexed to the States of the Church. To this, however, Octavio refused to agree. The French said they would evacuate

And attempt to
form an alliance
with France.

The state
of Italy
threatens
to bring on
war between
France and
the Empire.

CH. 27. Parma if Gonzaga would evacuate Piacenza; but
 A.D. 1551.
 April. neither would begin, and each considered the presence of the other a ground for war. The dispute would have come to nothing had there been no other provocation; but the promised return of the council to Trent, with the attempts of Charles to convert the Empire into a despotic sovereignty which he could transmit to his son, roused in Henry of France the spirit of his father; and the unexpected resistance of the Free Towns held out a prospect of reviving his father's policy, in supporting the Germans.

Magdeburg
 continues
 to defy
 Charles.

Magdeburg would not fall; the siege had been formed in November, 1550. In January the Magdeburgers made a sortie happier than their first, cutting to pieces the Mecklenburg troops and taking the duke prisoner. Maurice of Saxe, instead of reducing the city, was complaining to Charles of the continual captivity of the Landgrave of Hesse, and attempting some kind of compromise. But the Magdeburgers would hear of no compromise. They would have their freedom—either that or death. Their sacrilegious hands had melted their church bells into cannon, and torn up tombstones for fortifications; yet the cannon did their work, and the fortifications were none the weaker for the material of which they were made.

The prospects of
 the German
 Protestants
 begin to
 revive.

The Elbe was open, and provisions were introduced in abundance. Hamburg and Bremen declared on their side, and the Lutherans in Maurice's army refused to serve against the champions of freedom. The siege made no progress; and if one city could

resist successfully, all Protestant Germany would CH. 27
 recover heart at the example. The old combina-
 tion of Francis I. therefore threatened to revive. A.D. 1551.
 Henry sent money to Magdeburg.* He renewed April.
 his alliance with the Turks. The council of
 Trent was to meet in May; but a separate Gal-
 lican synod was again talked of, and letters were
 actually issued for the assembly of the French
 bishops. Henry protested, indeed, that he would
 merely consult his prelates on the repression of
 heresy;† but his excuses were but half believed;
 it was much doubted whether France would be
 represented at Trent; and the French ambassadors
 at Rome were instructed to tell the Pope that the
 attendance of the Gallican bishops might depend
 on the admission of the Lutherans.‡

A Gallican
 synod is
 talked of,
 and France
 supports
 Magde-
 burg.

It was at this conjuncture that the English dif-
 ficulty came to a point with the Emperor. War-
 wick had been already corresponding privately
 with the French Court, and the result of Sir
 William Pickering's mission was the immediate
 arrival in London of an agent of Henry.§ The
 terms of alliance could not be settled on the spot,
 but an understanding was arrived at sufficiently
 clear for present purposes; and on the 10th of
 April the council were in a position to take up
 the gauntlet which Charles had flung before them.
 Doctor Wotton was despatched to Brussels with in-

France is
 therefore
 willing to
 listen to the
 English
 overtures.

* Mason to the Council, April 18: *MS. France*, State Paper Office.

April 2: *MS. Germany*, State Paper Office.

† PALLAVICINO.

§ Council to Morryson, April

‡ Morryson to the Council,

6: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

CH. 27. instructions to say that 'the form of prayer, or usage of the communion, was a thing established by law by consent of parliament, by which the whole estate of the realm and the king's person were ruled, being such an universal and high court as there was none in all English policy to be compared to it, and therefore supreme over all persons in the realm:' that the Lady Mary was a subject of the realm, and must submit, like others, to the law. As to the ambassadors, if Sir Thomas Chamberlain was allowed to use the English communion in Flanders, the Flemish ambassador might use the mass in England, and if not, not. Friendship could not exist without equality, and the reciprocity which England demanded was no more than was conceded to Turks in Christendom and to Christians in Turkey.* Immediately after, Doctor Mallet, one of Mary's chaplains, was arrested and sent to the Tower. Pickering was appointed resident ambassador at Paris, and the Garter was sent to Henry.

Doctor Wotton carries the answer of the council to the Emperor.

Irritated and baffled, Charles turned his first indignation upon the Pope, who, he affected to believe, had been dealing underhand with the French.† But the suspicion, if sincere, was without ground. The Pope was innocent of fault, unless incapacity was a fault. He summoned

* Instructions to Doctor Wotton: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office. Compare EDWARD's *Journal*, April, 1551.

† 'The Emperor snuffeth at the alteration of Parma, but he turneth all his outward displeasure towards the Pope, who he

will not believe but hath been a worker therein, and in his choler he said lately—Si je me demasque je le montreray que je ne suys personage a qui il se doibt jouir.'—Mason to the Council: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 356.

Octavio to appear in Rome within thirty days, CH. 27.
and answer for his disobedience; if he failed to
present himself, he, his adherents, and abettors
were declared excommunicate. A.D. 1551.
April.
The Pope
excommu-
nicates
Octavio
Farnese,
And, by
implica-
tion, the
French
king.

‘How shall your king do now,’ said Morryson
to the French ambassador at Augsburg. ‘The
Bishop of Rome hath excommunicated all such
as give aid to Octavio. Doth he not excommu-
nicate your master, his council, his soldiers, yea,
and his horses too?’

‘Ma foye,’ said the ambassador, ‘his words are
very large, and perhaps he may stir hornets so
long, that the sting will stick, when he shall not
be able to pull it out.’*

And Maurice once more attacked Magdeburg
and failed, ‘and waxed annoyed with his evil
luck,’ and began also to correspond with France;
and the German Diet refused to nominate Philip
as the heir of the Empire, and Gonzaga laid
siege to Parma, and the Italian war began again.

Sadly and sullenly Charles rode through Augs-
burg, on the afternoon of the 25th of May. He
passed John Frederick, who, on the wayside
with his guard, ‘made low obeisance.’ ‘The
Emperor cast up his eye, and put his hand
towards his cap,’ and went on silent, moody, and
stern.† The Empe-
ror’s star
begins to
cloud.

* ‘I do know,’ Morryson
adds, ‘the ambassador under-
standeth the chief points of re-
ligion well, and would, I think,
be glad it were lawful in France
for bishops to be honest men.
Certain I am, he is not a little
nettled that the Bishop should ex-
tend his excommunication so far.’
—Morryson to the Council, May
5: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI.
Ibid.
† Morryson to the Council,
May 26: *MS. Ibid.*



CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

CH. 28. **F**RANCE and England having completed their private understanding, special embassies on both sides paraded the friendship before the world. The Marshal St. André came to London in splendour, with a retinue of lords; Northampton, Gardiner,* Sir Philip Hoby, and others, carried powers to Paris to arrange a marriage between Edward and the Princess Elizabeth. Though France had quarrelled with the Pope, though Henry was disclaiming an allegiance to the Council of Trent, it was remarked that the English ambassadors were received with processions, masses, and litanies in approved Catholic form. In England, such decorations of altars and churches as had escaped the mint or the hands of the grandees, were employed to decorate the royal tables on the reception of St. André.†

A.D. 1551.
May.
Special embassies
ratify the
alliance between
France and
England.

* Bishop of Ely, afterwards Chancellor.

† 'It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that come hither at Westminster, when was made preparations

for the purpose, and for garnish, of new vessels taken out of Church stuff, mitres, golden missals, primers, crosses, and reliques.' — EDWARD'S *Journal*, June 2, 1551.

The French faction in Italy interpreted the alliance to promise a return of England to the faith. The credulous among the English laboured to revive the old hope that France might unite with them in schism.* At both courts there was, as it were, an ostentatious declaration that, in matters of religion, the two countries had no intention of approximating; on neither side would the creed be sacrificed to the exigencies of policy.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
May.

But in religion there will be no approximation.

Courtesy and mutual good offices might compensate, however, for differences of opinion, and the English had an opportunity for a display of integrity which passed for magnanimous. The death of Mary Stuart would have broken the chain by which the French held her subjects linked to them. A Scot sent in an offer to take her off by poison.† But the council resisted the temptation amidst the applause of their friends; and the intended assassin was delivered in custody over the Calais frontier.‡

A Scot proposes to poison Mary Stuart.

* 'There is much talk in Italy of this marriage between our master and France. They say that would the French to seem big say the league is offensive and defensive. They also add, that one of the covenants is that we must return to the true faith of Holy Church, as they call it; that is, as we know it—to the blind Romish synagogue. Would God the French king were as like to become a right Protestant as our master is unlike to become a blundering Popistant.'—Morrison to the Council: *MS. Ger-*

many, Edward VI. bundle 15, State Paper Office.

† 'One Stewart, a Scotchman, meaning to poison the young Queen of Scotland, thinking thereby to get favour here, was, after he had been awhile in the Tower, delivered over the frontiers at Calais to the French, to have him punished according to his deserts.'—EDWARD'S *Journal*, May 9.

‡ 'Men talk in this court that one made offer to your Lordships to poison the young Scottish queen, and that you forthwith

CH. 28. St. André's was a visit of ceremony; he brought with him the order of St. Michael for the young king. The business of the connexion was transacted on the Continent.

A.D. 1551.
June.

A meeting is held to arrange the terms of the French marriage.

The differences with Scotland had been adjusted on the 10th of June in a treaty in which the engagements of 1543 for the marriage of Edward and Mary were passed over in silence. The French and English commissioners meeting to arrange a new connexion, found it necessary to peruse and consider those engagements. The Scottish promises were produced, and Northampton first demanded that the contract should be fulfilled.

'To be frank and plain with you,' Montmorency replied, 'seeing you require us so to be, the matter hath cost us both much riches and much blood; and so much doth the honour of France hang thereupon, as we cannot talk with you therein; the marriage is already concluded between her and the Dauphin, and therefore we

sent to the French king word thereof; whereupon the man is committed to prison, and the young lady out of danger. Your honours are much increased by this your noble fact. Your integrities so much the more commended, that they see many are glad largely to hire whom they may by any means corrupt, and find few complaints made against such as in this point offer service. It is to your Lordships' eternal praise that ye, by this your honourable example, do teach the King's Majesty, in these his young years,

to abhor foul practices—a lesson better and more worthier than is the violent catching of the fairest kingdom that the sun sheweth light unto. In spite of spite here, even those are forced to like, to allow, yea, to wonder at things rightly done, that by no entreaty can mean to follow them.'—Morrison to the Council from the Emperor's Court: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 15, State Paper Office. I know no keener satire on the public morals of the age than this passage.

would be glad to hear no more thereof.* The answer was of course anticipated, and was perhaps preconcerted. The King of France said that, although he had been at war with England, 'he never enterprised anything with worse will, nor more against his stomach.' 'He thanked God it was at an end, he trusted, for ever.'† The English waived their claims on Mary, and made their proposals in exchange for the hand of a princess of France. Acquiescence in general terms was promptly conceded; but when the details of the arrangement came under consideration, it appeared that the French still intended to profit by the weakness and the necessities of Edward's government. Northampton suggested that they should give with the princess, as a moderate dowry, 1,500,000 crowns. He lowered his terms on being refused, amidst shouts of laughter, to 1,400,000 crowns; then to a million, then to 800,000, and at last to 200,000; which only, 'after great reasonings and shewings of precedents,' the French commissioners consented to allow. These terms, or any terms, England was obliged to accept. Dr. Wotton was gone on his errand of defiance to Charles. The liberty demanded for Mary had not only been refused, and her chaplains imprisoned, but she had been informed that, if she continued obstinate, she might not herself be exempt from punishment.‡ Lord Warwick and his friends had cast in their

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
June.

The French drive a hard bargain, knowing that there was no danger of their terms being refused.

Doctor Wotton goes to the court of the Emperor.

* Northampton to the Council: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 385, &c.

† Ibid.

‡ EDWARD'S *Journal*, June 24.

CH. 28. fortune with extreme measures, and were in no condition to drive a bargain hard.

A.D. 1551.
June.

The Emperor, however, on his side, was unable immediately to fulfil his threat of declaring war; he was compelled to content himself with repeating it. Dr. Wotton's report of his interview has been injured, and is in parts illegible.* Where the letter begins to be intelligible the conversation was turning upon the Protestant refugees in England.

The Emperor reproaches him with the condition of England.

'Here,' says Wotton, 'the Emperor, by signs and nods, willed those of his chamber to go from thence and leave him alone with me.' He then said that he had a great love for the king, and had every good will to his country; 'but the English were all now,' he said, 'so far out of the way,' that he did not know what to do about them; 'they did infect his own realm.' Wotton begged him to think better of the English; they were a people who feared God, and desired only to know how God delighted most to be served. 'You have well travailed,' Charles answered, scornfully; 'you say you have chosen a good way; the world takes it for a naughty way; and ought it not to suffice you that ye spill your own souls, but ye have a mind to force others to lose theirs too. My cousin the princess is evil handled among you, her servants plucked from

* The surviving portions of this despatch contain so much which is characteristic of Charles, that the loss of the rest is especially to be regretted. The more so indeed because the destruction of the MS. is not due to legitimate decay, but to the use of ox-gall by some careless antiquary, who, to facilitate his own researches, wetted the ink with a material which imparts a momentary clearness, at the expense of making the writing illegible afterwards for evermore.

her; and she still cried upon to leave mass, to forsake her religion in which her mother, her grandmother, and all our family have lived and died.'

'Sacred Majesty,' Wotton answered, 'at my coming out of England she was honourably entertained in her own house, and had such about her as she liked: and I think she is so still. I do not hear to the contrary.'

'Yes, by St. Mary,' said Charles, 'there is to the contrary, and therefore say you hardly to them, I will' not suffer her to be evil handled by them—I will not suffer it. Is it not enough that my aunt, her mother, was evil entreated by the king that dead is, but my cousin must be worse ordered by councillors now. I had rather she died a thousand deaths than that she should forsake her faith. The king is too young to skill of such matters.'

When Wotton urged that Mary was a subject, and must submit to the law, Charles gave the usual answer that a law made in a minority was no law at all. The Church had been ruined, the bishoprics plundered, the religion of Christ set aside or altered by the violent will of a few men who had no authority to meddle with such things. Wotton said the changes had been discussed in parliament: the Emperor replied that parliament was no place for the discussion of any such questions.

Seeing his humour, Wotton passed unwillingly to the second part of his instructions, and required the licence for Sir Thomas Chamberlain to use

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.

June.

He complains of the treatment of his cousin,

And will not listen to the pretence that, being a subject, she must obey the law.

CH. 28. the communion service at Brussels. The Emperor said distinctly and at once, that he would have no service used in his dominions which was not allowed by the Church; and if his own ambassador was refused the mass, he should be recalled; 'the cases were not like; the English service was new and naught;' 'the mass was old and approved.'

A.D. 1551.

June.

He will not allow the English ambassador to use the communion service,

And protests against the introduction of changes of so great magnitude in the king's minority;

'Again,' wrote Wotton, 'he went to the Lady Mary, willing me to require your Lordships that she might have her masses still; if not, he would provide for her remedy: and if his ambassador was restrained, he had already given him orders that if the restraint came to-day, he should to-morrow depart, and ours as well.' 'He fell to earnest talk;' he spoke again of the danger of introducing changes in Edward's infancy, 'who, when he came to his years, would take sharp account of it, and make them know what it was to bring up a king in heresy.' Wotton answered that 'the Lords of the Council did well understand with what fear and danger they made the alteration; and the greater the peril, the more were they to be praised that would rather venture land, life, and all than not do that that God required at their hands.'*

But the Emperor cannot afford to go to war with England.

The interview ended stormily. Whether war would follow, the ambassador said he could not tell. He was certain only that the Emperor

* Wotton to the Council: *MS. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office.

meant him to believe that there would be war; CH. 28.
and he recommended the council not to press A.D. 1551.
matters to extremity about the princess for a June.
month or two; 'in that space it should appear
whether the Emperor should need English
amity, or whether England should have cause
to be afraid of his displeasure.' The council
took his advice, and meantime the French alli-
ance was consolidated. The European difficul-
ties of the Emperor thickened. The country,
after drifting close upon a reef, escaped ship-
wreck, more by a change of wind than the skill
of its pilots. The dominant factions were again
at leisure to follow their career of misgovern-
ment.

In contemplating the false steps of statesmen,
it is difficult at all times to measure their per-
sonal responsibility, to determine how much of
their errors has been due to party spirit, how
much to pardonable mistake; how much, again,
seems to have been faulty, because we see but
effects, which we ascribe absolutely to the con-
duct of particular men, when such effects were the
result, in fact, of influences spreading throughout
the whole circle of society. The men who
governed England in the minority of Edward VI.,
however, succeeded, at any rate, in making them-
selves individually execrated, and in bringing dis-
credit upon the cause of which they were the pro-
fessed defenders. All over the country discontent,
social, political, and religious, was steadily on the
increase. In the *Privy Council Records* are to
be found entries perpetually recurring of persons

CH. 28. conspiring here, or conspiring there, and being
 put to death occasionally on the spot by martial
 law.* The prisons were full to overflowing with
 Catholic recusants, who would not relinquish the
 mass, or with persons guilty of 'lewd talk,' or
 'seditious words;' this or that prisoner, as his
 place was required for another, being taken out
 to have his ears slit, or to be set upon the pil-
 lory.† The greatest of the offences of the
 government, the issue of base money, was draw-
 ing to an end; but it was ending as hurricanes
 end, the worst gust being the last.

A. D. 1551.
 August.
 The bad
 govern-
 ment of
 England
 shows no
 symptoms
 of amend-
 ment.

Prices con-
 tinuing to
 rise,

In the teeth of statutes, in defiance of procla-
 mations, prices rose to the level of the metallic
 value of the current coin, and, at last, rose
 beyond it. The exchanges ceased to be intelli-
 gible. In the absence of accessible tests, and
 with coin circulating of all degrees of purity and
 impurity, the common processes of buying and
 selling could no longer be carried on, and the
 council were compelled at last to yield before the
 general outcry.

The council
 resolve to
 call down
 the silver
 coin to its
 value.

From the enormous quantity of base silver
 which was now in circulation, the honest redemp-
 tion of it appeared, and at the time, perhaps, really
 was, impossible. It remained, therefore, to throw
 the burden upon the country, to accept the advice

* 'August 31. The Duke of Somerset, taking certain that began a new conspiracy for the destruction of the gentlemen at Okingham, two days past executed them with death for their offence.'—EDWARD'S *Journal*.

† Especially, it would seem, in the months of April, May, and June, 1551, when a crisis was so near.—*Privy Council Records, MS.*

of the city merchants, and call it down to its actual value. By this desperate remedy every holder of a silver coin lost upon it the difference between its cost when it passed into his hands, and its worth as a commodity in the market. Taking an average of the whole coin in circulation, the proportion of alloy was fifty per cent., and in the end, the silver currency would have to descend to half its nominal value. But the entire descent, though inevitable, was not to be accomplished at once. To relieve the shock (so the government pretended), the first fall was made a partial one. A resolution was taken in council on the 30th of April that the shilling in future should pass for ninepence, and the groat for threepence. But anxiety for the convenience of the public was not the only cause of the delay in the completion of the operation. The treasury was as usual exhausted. The economy which had been attempted in the household had been more than defeated by the cost of the gendarmerie, as the force was called, which the council had been obliged to raise for their protection. The wages, food, and clothing of nine hundred men were added to the ordinary expenditure, and the revenue, which had been unequal to the usual demands upon it, was now hopelessly deficient. 'Purveying,' by which the court was accustomed to supply its necessities, by taking what it required from the farmers at statute prices, had been forbidden by act of parliament.* The prohibition had not been ob-

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.

May.
But they
determined
to divide
the fall,
and the
shilling is
called down
to nine-
pence.

* 2 and 3 Edward VI.

CH. 28. served, for the court, it was said, must live, and the king had no money. The royal purveyors continued to take at their pleasure, paying exactly half the market prices for everything.* But rapacity of this kind could supply but very poorly the hungry deficiency which was perpetually growing. In April a fresh issue of base money had been contemplated,† but was for the moment postponed. The Fuggers were the resource instead; and being increasingly bad debtors, the government were made to pay for fresh accommodation by buying a hundred thousand crowns' worth of rubies and diamonds.‡

It was with no good humour, therefore, that they found themselves compelled to keep their hands for the future from the mint; and they determined to dip once more, and to dip deeply into the closing fountain. The fall of the coin, as I have said, was resolved upon on the 6th of May. The intention was made known to the public,

A. D. 1551.
The crown
was in
extreme
want of
money;

And one
more sup-
ply might
still be ex-
tracted
from the
mint.

* 'To shew what hurt cometh by provisions to the poor man it shall not need; experience doth make it too plain. But, for example, the purveyors alloweth for a lamb worth two shillings but twelve pence; for a capon worth twelve pence, six-pence; and so after that rate: so that, after that rate, there is not the poorest man that hath anything to sell but he loseth half in the price, besides tarrying for his money; which sometimes he hath, after long suit to the officers, and great costs suing for it; and many times he never hath

it.'—*Causes of the Dearth in England*: TITLER, vol. i. p. 369.

† For the amendment of the currency, so Edward was led to believe. 'It was appointed,' he writes, 'to make 20,000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gain sixteen thousand clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended.'—*EDWARD'S Journal*, April 10.

‡ Ibid. April 25.

and it was to take effect in the following July. CH. 28.
 The second fall could be at no great distance; A.D. 1551.
June.
 it is impossible, therefore, that the council could
 have been any longer under a delusion on the
 nature of the course which they had pursued.
 With the consequences of it immediately before
 their eyes, they issued, on the 30th of May, A hundred
and twenty
thousand
pounds'
worth of
bad silver
is issued.
 80,000*l.* worth of silver, in a coin of which two-
 thirds was alloy; on the 18th of June they issued
 a further 40,000*l.* worth in a coin of which three-
 quarters was alloy. Possibly, or rather probably,
 it was put out subject to the partial depreciation
 of the first fall; but every creditor of the court,
 artisan, or labourer, servant, tradesman, farmer,
 or soldier was forced to receive that money at a
 fictitious value, although the council knew that
 a further depreciation was immediately and neces-
 sarily imminent.*

* The numerous entries in EDWARD'S *Journal* on this dry subject are curious. The king appears to have been keeping his eyes upon the council, and seeking information on the subject without their knowledge. William Thomas, Clerk of the Council, whose name has been more than once mentioned, was one of his secret advisers; and, I sometimes think, may have assisted him in the composition of his *Journal*. 'Upon Friday last,' Thomas writes, in an undated letter to the king, 'Mr. Throgmorton declared your Majesty's pleasure unto me, and delivered me withal the notes of certain discourses, which, according to your Highness's command-

ment, I shall most gladly apply, to send you one every week, if it be possible for me in so little time to compass it—as indeed it were more than easy, if the daily service of mine office required not the great travail and diligence that it doth. And because he told me your Majesty would first hear mine opinion touching the reformation of the coin, albeit that I think myself both unmeet and unable to give any judgment in so great and weighty a matter without the advice of others; yet, since it is your Highness's pleasure to have it secret, which I do much commend, I therefore am the bolder to enterprize the declaration of my fantasy, trusting that, upon this

CH. 28. This was the last grasp at the departing prey, and perhaps it transpired to the world: for so profound and so wide was the public distrust, that when the first fall took effect on the 9th of July, prices everywhere rather rose than fell, even allowing for the difference of denomination. In vain the council admonished the Lord Mayor, and required the Lord Mayor to admonish the wardens of the trading companies.* Confidence was steadily refused to the currency as long as the worth of the coined shilling was artificially greater than the worth of the bullion of which it was made. The falling process having once begun, had to be completed with as little

August 17.
The shilling is called down to sixpence, and other silver coins in proportion.

delay as possible, and on the 17th of August the shilling was ordered by proclamation to pass for no more than sixpence, and the groat for no more than twopence,† and all other silver coins in

ground, better devices and better effects may ensue than my head alone can contrive.—Thomas to Edward VI.: *Cotton. MSS. Vespasian*, D. 18. Printed in STEYFFE'S *Memorials*, vol. iv. p. 389.

* *Privy Council Records*, MS.

† The second proclamation was drawn on the 1st of August, but was not put out till the 17th. The following is the text of it. In such a matter the government must be heard for themselves:—

‘Whereas the King's Majesty, minding to reduce the coin of this his Highness's realm to a more fineness, hath of late, for

sundry weighty considerations, partly mentioned in our proclamation of the last of April last past [It was drawn on the last of April, and issued on the 6th of May], ordained and established that the piece of silver called the *teston*, or shilling, should be current for nine pence, and no more; and the piece of silvered coin called the groat should likewise be current for three pence, and no more; minding, both at the time of the said proclamation and sithens also, to have reduced the coin of this realm to a fineness by such degrees as should have been less burdensome to his Majesty, and most for the ease of his High-

proportion. To pacify the people, to prevent curious inquiries, and also perhaps to soften the blow to the holders of the money, the government declared their intention of enforcing the Farm Statutes, and of prohibiting the exportation of coin. A scale of prices was again issued for articles of food, with a hope that it would now be maintained; and if the cost of living was 'not to be so good cheap as when the coin was at its perfectest,' it should be 'within a fifth part of it.'*

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.

August.

A fresh

tariff of

prices is

issued, and

all things

are to be

again good

cheap.

ness's loving subjects: forasmuch as sithens which time his Majesty is sundry ways informed that the excessive prices of all victuals and all other things, which of reason should have grown less as the coin is amended, is rather, by the malice and insatiable greediness of sundry men, especially such as make their gain by buying and selling, increased and waxen more excessive, to the great hindrance of the commonwealth and intolerable burden of his Majesty's loving subjects, especially of those of the poorer sort: for the remedy whereof, nothing is thought more available than the speedy reduction of the said coin more nigher his just fineness. His Majesty, therefore, by the advice of the Lords and others of his Highness's Privy Council, more esteeming the honour and estimation of the realm, and the wealth and commodity of his Highness's most loving subjects, than the great profit which, by the baseness of the coin, did and should continually have grown to his Majesty, hath, and by the

advice aforesaid doth, ordain that, from the 17th day of this present month of August, the piece of coin called the teston, or shilling, shall be current within the realm of England and the town and Marches of Calais only for six pence sterling, and not above; and the groat for two pence sterling, and not above; the piece of two pence for a penny, the piece of a penny for a halfpenny, and the piece of a halfpenny for a farthing; and therefore straightly chargeth and commandeth every person, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they may be, to pay and receive, after the said day of the present month, the said coins for no higher nor no lower value or price within this realm, upon pain of forfeiture to his Majesty of all such money as shall be paid or received at other values than by this proclamation is put forth, and also upon pain of fine and imprisonment during his Majesty's pleasure.—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiii. State Paper Office.

* *EDWARD'S Journal*.

CH. 28. It was now possible to restore a pure silver currency—possible and also necessary; for, although the depreciation was calculated fairly on the average value of the coin, the good and the bad were affected equally by the proclamation; and unless the whole existing circulation was called in and recoinced, to call it down was merely to offer a premium on the debasement of all the pure shillings and groats which remained in the realm. The council saw half the truth, but unhappily only half. They undertook to set the presses at work coining silver at a pure standard; an honest shilling was to be given at the mints for every two testons, and the alloy, it was thought, would pay the cost of the stamping.* But from ignorance, carelessness, or some less worthy motive, men were left to their own discretion either to bring in their money or leave it circulating at its new rate; and those who held the old coin found more advantage in exporting it as bullion, or in melting it down to the level of the lowest recent issues, in which a third or a fourth part only was pure silver. Thus the people lost their money, and prices, nevertheless, would not subside. The council abstained from further speculation. That was the extent of the amendment.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.

August.

Good money is now coined, but the bad is not called in.

The sweating sickness appears in England.

To increase the misery of the summer, there reappeared, in July, the strange and peculiar plague of the English nation. The sweating sickness, the most mortal of all forms of pesti-

* EDWARD'S *Journal*.

lence which have ever appeared in this country, CH. 28.
selected its victims exclusively from among the
natives of Great Britain. If it broke out in a A.D. 1551.
July.
foreign town, it picked out the English residents
with undeviating accuracy. The sufferers were
in general men between thirty and forty, and
the stoutest and the healthiest most readily
caught the infection. The symptoms were a
sudden perspiration, accompanied with faintness
and drowsiness. Those who were taken with
full stomachs died immediately. Those who
caught cold shivered into dissolution in a few
hours. Those who yielded to the intense temp-
tation to sleep, though but for a quarter of
an hour, woke only to die; and so rapid was
the operation of the disorder that, of seven house-
holders who one night supped together in the
city of London, six before morning were corpses.
‘The only remedy was to be kept close with
moderate air, and to drink posset ale or such like
for thirty hours, and then the danger was
passed.’* ‘It was a terrible time,’ says Stow.
‘Men lost their friends by this sweat, and their
money by the proclamation.’ In London alone
eight hundred men died in one week in July.

Visitations of pestilence in Christian countries
have ever operated as a call to repentance. The
effect upon the English was heightened by the
singularity which confined the attack to them-
selves. The council, in an address of profound
solemnity, invited the nation to acknowledge

The council
invite the
nation to
repent of
its sins ;

* HOLINSHED.

CH. 28. humbly the merited chastisements of Heaven: it was not the first time, as it will not be the last, that men have been keen-eyed to detect in others their own faults, and to call upon the world to repent of them.

A.D. 1551.
July.

July 18. The bishops were charged to invite all men to be more diligent in prayer, and less anxious for their personal interests; especially to refrain their greedy appetites from that insatiable serpent of covetousness, wherewith most men were so infected that it seemed the one would devour another, without charity, or any godly respect 'to the poor, to their neighbours, or to the common-weal:' this it was, the council said, 'for which God had not only now poured out this plague on them, but had also prepared another plague that after this life should plague them everlastingly:' the bishops must 'use persuasions that might engender a terror to redeem men from their corrupt and naughty lives;' but the clergy were chiefly to blame; 'the members of a dull head could not do well;' 'the flocks wandered because the ministers were dull and feeble.'*

Especially
of the great
crime of
covetous-
ness.

A brief
penitence
is soon fol-
lowed by
relapse.

The people, says Holinshed, for a time were affected and agitated. 'They began to repent, to give alms, and to remember God; but as the disease ceased, so devotion in a short time de-

* TYTLER, vol. i. p. 404. Lord Warwick affected to Cecil a keen regret for the shortcomings of the clergy, which he attributed to their marriages. 'These men,' he said, 'that the King's Majesty hath of late pre-

ferred, be so sotted of their wives and children, that they forget both their poor neighbours and all other things which to their calling appertaineth.' — Ibid. vol. ii.

cayed.' The council perhaps confined their own penitence to the exhortation of others, seeing that at the time when the disease was at its worst, they were engaged upon their last great fraud with the currency. Lulled by the panegyrics of the Protestants, who saw in them all that was most excellent, most noble, most devout, the Lords, or rather the triumvirate of Warwick, Northampton, and Sir William Herbert, who now governed England, were contented to earn their praises by fine words, by persecuting and depriving bishops inclined to be conservative, and by confiscating and appropriating the estates of the vacated sees.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
July.

When Ponet was installed as the successor of Gardiner, the estates of the bishopric of Winchester were transferred to the crown in exchange for a few impropriated rectories. The woods on the lands of the see of London were cut down and sold.* Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was deposed, and his place was taken by Hooper, the see of Gloucester, which Henry had founded, being suppressed, and the estates surrendered.† Westminster, another of Henry's sees, had been suppressed before; while a further project was on foot to depose Tunstal from the bishopric of Durham. The diocese was to be divided, part to be given to the Dean of Durham, to be endowed out of the estates of the chapter, and part to Newcastle, with a trifling salary; while the princely domains of the bishopric itself were to be shared between Warwick and his friends.

Conservative bishops are deposed in favour of the men of progress.

Large schemes of plunder are designed, which the Protestants applaud.

* STREYFE; TYTLER.

† RYMER, vol. vi. part 3, p. 216.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
August.

But the Protestants looked on with admiration and applause. The Papists were put out of the way. The doctrinalists were promoted to honour. Miles Coverdale went to Exeter, in the place of Voysey, Surrey went to Rochester, Taylor to Lincoln. When men like these were raised to dignity, what more could be desired?

Becon's
opinion of
the gos-
pellers.

'What a swarm of false Christians have we among us,' said the large-minded Becon; 'gross gospellers, which can prattle of the gospel very finely, talk much of justification by faith, crack very stoutly for the free remission of their sins by Christ's blood. As for their almsdeeds, their praying, their watching, their fasting, they are utterly banished from these gospellers. They are puffed up with pride, they swell with envy, they wallow in pleasures, they burn with concupiscence. Their covetous acts are insatiable, the increasing their substance, the scraping together of worldly possessions. Their religion consisteth in words and disputations; in Christian acts and godly deeds nothing at all.'*

Of this class of men the highest living representative was the Earl of Warwick, the ruling spirit of the English Reformation in the phase into which it now had drifted.

To return to the Princess Mary.

August 9.
The council
resolve at
last to take
in hand the
Princess
Mary.

There being no longer, as it seemed, occasion to fear the resentment of the Emperor, the council, on the 9th of August, resolved to execute their resolution, and put an end to her resistance

* BECON'S *Jewel of Joy*.

with a high hand. 'They considered how long and patiently the king had laboured in vain to bring her to conformity.' They 'considered how much her obstinacy and the toleration of it endangered the peace of the realm.' Her chaplains, therefore, should be compelled for the future to perform in her chapel the English service established by law, and none other; while Edward undertook to write to his sister with his own hand. The Flemish ambassador was informed, at the same time, that the terms of his own residence in England must be identical with those granted to Sir Thomas Chamberlain. He should use the mass on condition only that Chamberlain might use the communion.* The Duke of Somerset only defended Mary's interests. His name was attached with the rest to the resolutions of the council;† but as to him the princess had been indebted for her first license 'to keep her sacrificing knaves about her,'‡ so he endeavoured to prevent the withdrawal of it; and partly, perhaps, from good feeling, partly from opposition to Warwick, he had begun to advocate a general toleration.§ Somerset, in fact, was growing weary of Protestantism, seeing what Protestantism had become. He preferred the company of his architects and masons to attendance at chapel and sermons;|| and Burgoyne, writing to Calvin,

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
August.

Somerset takes her part, becoming weary of Protestantism.

* *Council Records, MS.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ John ab Ulmis to Bullinger: *Zurich Letters*.

§ Charges against the Duke of Somerset: *Infra*.

|| Master Bradford spared not the proudest, and among many

CH. 28. said that he had become so lukewarm in the service of Christ, as scarcely to have anything less at heart than religion.*

A.D. 1551.
August.

But Warwick and Warwick's party are too strong for him.

No cause, however, at that time, could be benefited by the advocacy of Somerset; and Warwick was supported by the powerful phalanx of able and dangerous men whose interest committed them to the Reformation—those who had shared, or hoped to share, in the spoils of the Church or the State—those who had divided among them the forfeited estates of the Percies, the Howards, the Courtenays, and the Poles, and would support any men or any measures which would prevent reaction.

The officers of Mary's household are sent for, and directed to put an end to the mass;

The princess was at Copt Hall, in Essex. On the 14th of August three of the officers of her household, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Edward Waldegrave, were sent for by the council: the king's letter was put in their hands, with a charge to deliver it to their mistress. They were instructed to inform the chaplains that the mass must cease, and to take care, for their own part, that the order was obeyed. At the end of a week they returned to say that the Lady Mary was 'marvellously offended.' She had forbidden them to speak to her chaplains; if they persisted, she said she would discharge them from her service, and she herself

others, will't them to tak example be the lait Duck of Somerset, who became so cald in hering God's word, that the yeir before his last apprehension hee wald gae visit his masonis, and wald not dingye himsell to gae from

his gallerie to his hall for hearing of a sermon.—*Letter of John Knox to the Faithful in London.*

* Burgoyne to Calvin: *Zurich Letters.*

would immediately leave the country. She was subject to a heart complaint, and her passion was so violent, that they were afraid to press her further for fear of the possible consequences. They had approached the subject only once afterwards, 'when they not only did not find her more conformable, but in further choler than she was before.' They could, therefore, go no further. She had written to her brother, and they had brought the letter with them.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
August.

A message, Mary said in this letter, had been brought to her by her servants on a matter which concerned the salvation of her soul; her servants were no fit messengers for the Lords to have chosen. The meanest subjects in the realm would ill bear to receive such treatment through their own attendants. For the letter which Edward had written to her, it was signed indeed with his hand, but it was not his own composition, and he was too young to be a fit judge in such questions. Her father had brought her up in the Catholic faith, and she would not believe one thing and say another, nor would she submit to rule her mind by the opinions of the Privy Council. She entertained, therefore, that her want of conformity might be tolerated till he was old enough to act for himself, and if this could not be, 'rather than offend God and my conscience,' she said, 'I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life.'*

Mary refuses to obey, and writes to the king.

When he is of age to judge for himself she will obey him, and not till then.

The appeal was naturally ineffectual. The

* *Privy Council Records, MS.* The Lady Mary to King Edward: ELLIS, vol. ii. p. 176, 1st series; FOXE, vol. vi.

CH. 28. council would not have ventured so far, had they not been determined to go farther; and with a reprimand for the neglect of their orders, Rochester and his companions were commanded to go back and execute them. They refused. They were commanded again on their allegiance to go, and again refused, and were committed to the Fleet for contumacy. 'Pinnaces' were sent to cruise between Harwich and the mouth of the Thames to prevent an attempt at flight on the part of the princess; and Rich, the Lord Chancellor, Sir William Petre, and Sir Anthony Wingfield took the ungracious office on themselves. Her servants, they were directed to inform Mary, had not returned to her, and would not return. They had disobeyed the king's orders, and if a privy councillor had so far misconducted himself, he would have been equally punished. Competent officers would be furnished for her household in their places. For the rest, his Majesty was grieved that her conscience was so settled in error, as he would himself express to her.* She offered her body to be at the king's service,

A. D. 1551.
August.
The officers
of the
household
are sent to
the Fleet,
and a deputation
from the
council undertake to
enforce the
order.

* Right dear and entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you of that which we, for God's cause, your soul's health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of the realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love than contentation of our conscience and foresight of our safety. Wherefore, although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love, yet we be loath to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked. And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found guilty in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love towards you,

but no harm was meant to her body—*mens sana* CH. 28.
only *in corpore sano*. If she had a conscience, so
had the king a conscience, and the king must A. D. 1551.
avoid giving offence to God by tolerating error. August 28.

The adventures of the new messengers, characteristic of Mary and of the times, shall be related in their own words.

‘Having received commandment and instructions from the King’s Majesty,* we repaired to the Lady Mary’s house at Copt Hall, on the 28th instant in the morning, where, shortly after our coming, I, the Lord Chancellor, delivered his Majesty’s letter to her, which she received upon her knees, saying that, for the honour of the King’s Majesty’s hand wherewith the said letter was signed, she would kiss the letters and not for the matter contained in them; for the matter, said she, I take to proceed not from his Majesty, but from you his council.

‘In the reading of the letter, which she did read secretly to herself, she said these words in our hearing—Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here. When she had read the letter, we began to open the matter of our instructions unto

They wait upon the princess, and deliver their message,

omitted our bounden duty, we send at the present the Lord Rich, the Lord Chancellor of England, and our right trusty and right well-beloved Councilors, Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir William Petre, in message to you touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us. Given

under our signet. Windsor, August 24. — Letter of King Edward to the Lady Mary: FOXE, vol. vi.

* Report of the Commissioners to the Lady Mary, August 29: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiii. State Paper Office, printed by ELLIS, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 179.

CH. 28. her; and as I, the Lord Chancellor, began, she
 A.D. 1551. prayed me to be short, for, said she, I am not
 August 28. well at ease, and I will make you a short
 answer.

Setting out
 the king's
 gracious
 desire for
 her conver-
 sion.

'After this, we told her at good length how the King's Majesty having used all the gentle means and exhortations that he might, to have reduced her to the rites of religion and order of divine service set forth by the laws of the realm, and finding her nothing conformable, but still remaining in her former errors, had resolved, by the whole estate of his Majesty's Privy Council and with the consent of divers others of the nobility, that she should no longer use the private mass, nor any other divine service than is set forth by the laws of the realm; and here we offered to shew her the names of all those which were present at this consultation and resolution. But she said she cared not for any rehearsal of the names, for, said she, I know you to be all of one sort therein.

'We told her further that the King's Majesty's pleasure was we should also give strait charge to her chaplains that none of them should presume to say any mass, and the like charge to all her servants that none of them should presume to hear any mass.

'Hereunto her answer was thus—

She replies
 that she
 will obey
 the king
 where her
 conscience
 will per-
 mit;

'To the King's Majesty she was, is, and ever will be his Majesty's most humble and most obedient subject and poor sister, and would most willingly obey all his commandments in anything—her conscience saved—yea, and would

willingly and gladly suffer death to do his Majesty good. But rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late king her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death. But, said she, I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. When the King's Majesty, said she, shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion; but now in these years, although he, good, sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be a judge of these things. If ships were to be sent to the sea, or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his Highness yet able to consider what were to be done. And much less, said she, can he in these years discern what is fit in matters of divinity. If my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none; no more can my poor servants. But as for my servants, I know it shall be against their will, as it should be against mine; for if they could come where it were said, they should hear it with good will, and as for my priests, they know what they have to do. The pain of your law is but imprisonment for a short time, and if they will refuse to say mass for fear of that imprisonment, they may do therein as they will; but none of your new service, said she, shall be used in my house, and if any be said in it, I will not tarry in the house.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
August 29.

But the king being too young to understand such grave matters,

She will adhere to the order left by her father, and will use no other.

The English service shall not be used in her house.

After this, we declared to her Grace, for

CH. 28. what causes the Lords of the Council had appointed Rochester, Englefield, and Waldegrave, being her servants, to open the premises unto her, and how ill and untruly they had used themselves in the charge committed unto them; and beside that, how they had manifestly disobeyed the King's Majesty's council. She said it was not the wisest counsel to appoint her servants to control her in her own house; and that her servants knew her mind therein well enough, for, of all men, she might worst endure any of them to move her in any such matters. And for their punishment, said she, my Lords may use them as they think good; and if they refused to do the message unto her and her chaplains, they be, said she, the honestest men, for they should have spoken against their own conscience.

A promise had been made to the Emperor that she should not be interfered with,

‘After this, when we had at good length declared unto her our instructions, touching the promises which she claimed to have been made to the Emperor, and, besides, had opened unto her at good length all such things as we knew and had heard therein, her answer was, that she was well assured the promise was made to the Emperor; and that the same was once granted before the King's Majesty in her presence, there being there seven of the council, notwithstanding the denial thereof at her last being with his Majesty. And I have, quoth she, the Emperor's hand testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than you all of the council; and though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me for my father's sake,

who made the more part of you all almost of CH. 28.
nothing. But, as for the Emperor, said she, if
he were dead, I would say as I do; and if he would
give me now other advice, I would not follow it. A.D. 1551.
August 29.
And the
ambas-
sador shall
know how
she is
treated.
Notwithstanding, quoth she, to be plain with
you, his ambassador shall know how I am used
at your hands.

‘After this, we opened the King’s Majesty’s
pleasure, for one to attend upon her Grace for the
supply of Rochester’s place during his absence.

‘To this her answer was, that she would ap- She re-
quires that
the officers
of the
household
may be re-
stored to
her. She
will endure
none which
are not her
own choice.
point her own officers, and that she had years
sufficient for that purpose; and if we left any men
there, she would go out of her gates, for they
two would not dwell in one house. And, quoth
she, I am sickly, and yet I will not die willingly,
but will do the best I can to preserve my life.
But if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly
that you of the council be the causes of my death;
you give me fair words, but your deeds be always
ill to me.

‘Having said this, she departed from us into The chap-
lains are
charged on
their alle-
giance to
obey the
law.
her bed-chamber, and delivered to me, the Lord
Chancellor, a ring upon her knees, with very
humble recommendations to her brother, saying,
that she would die his true subject and sister,
and obey his commandment in all things, except
in these matters of religion. But yet, said she,
this shall never be told to the King’s Majesty.
After her departure, we called the chaplains and
the rest of the household before us, and the
chaplains after some talk, promised all to obey the
King’s Majesty’s commandment. We further

CH. 28. commanded them, and every one of them, to give
notice to some one of the council, at the least, if
any mass, or other service than that set forth
by the law, should hereafter be said in that
house.

A.D. 1551.
August 29.

‘Finally, when we had said and done as is aforesaid, and were gone out of the house, tarrying there for one of her chaplains, who was not with the rest when we gave the charge aforesaid unto them, the Lady Mary’s Grace sent to us to speak with her one word at a window. When we were come into the court, notwithstanding that we offered to come up to her chamber, she would needs speak out of the window, and prayed us to speak to the Lords of the Council that her controller might shortly return; for, said she, since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expenses, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing; and, to be plain with you, I am weary of my office, and, therefore, if my Lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure; otherwise, if they send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily and with a good will. And I pray God to send you well to do in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies.’

As the moment draws near when Mary will step forward to the front of the historical stage, it is time to give some distinct account of her. She was born in February 1515-16, and was, there-

fore, in her thirty-sixth year. Her face was CH. 28.
broad, but drawn and sallow; the forehead large, A.D. 1551.
August 29.
though projecting too much at the top, and indicating rather passion and determination than intellectual strength. Her eyes were dauntless, Some account of the
Princess
Mary.
bright, steady, and apparently piercing; but she was short-sighted, and insight either into character or thing was not among her capabilities. She was short and ill-figured; above the waist she was spare, from continued ill-health; below, it is enough to say, that she had inherited her father's dropsical tendencies, which were beginning to show themselves. Her voice was deep like a man's, she had a man's appetite, especially for meat; and in times of danger, a man's promptness of action. But she was not without a lady's accomplishments. She embroidered well, played on the lute well; she could speak English, Latin, French, and Spanish, and she could read Italian; as we have seen, she could be her own housekeeper; and if she had masculine energy, she had with it a woman's power of braving and enduring suffering.

By instinct, by temperament, by hereditary affection, she was an earnest Catholic; and whatever Mary believed, she believed thoroughly, without mental reservation, without allowing her personal interests either to tint her convictions or to tempt her to disguise them. As long as Queen Catherine lived, she had braved Henry's anger, and clung to her and to her cause. On her mother's death she had agreed to the separation from the Papacy as a question of policy touching

CH. 28. no point of faith or conscience. She had accepted the alterations introduced by her father; and, had nothing else intervened, she might have maintained as a sovereign what she had honestly admitted as a subject. Her own persecution only, and the violent changes enforced by the doctrinal Reformers, taught her to believe that, apart from Rome, there was no security for orthodoxy.

A.D. 1551.
August.
The persecution of the council the occasion of her relapse into Romanism.

In her interview with the messengers she had shown herself determined, downright, and unaffected, cutting through official insincerities, and fearless of consequences standing out for the right as she understood it. The moral relations of good and evil were inverted; and between Mary, the defender of a dying superstition, and the Lords of the Council, the patrons of liberty and right, the difference so far, was as between the honest watch-dog and a crew of prowling wolves.

The dominant faction had dragged on for two years, through mean tyranny and paltry speculation. The time had come when, no longer able to continue their ill ways unmolested, they were to venture into open crime.

The administration of the Duke of Somerset had been a bad one;

The Duke of Somerset had neglected the debts of the realm till they were past retrieval. He had rushed into expensive and unsuccessful wars, crippled the revenue, and continued the debasement of the currency. He had brought the country into discredit abroad; and by forcing forward changes in religion for which the people were unprepared, he had thrown half England

into insurrection. He had justly been deprived of the power which he had usurped and abused. Yet, for the most part, he had failed in attempts which in themselves were noble; and the Duke of Somerset might flatter himself that his own government showed brightly by the side of the scarcely less rash and more utterly ungenerous administration which had followed on his fall. Could he have recovered the Protectorate, it is not likely he would have profited by his past experience; a large vanity and a languid intellect incapacitated him for sovereign power: yet, in the face of the existing state of things, he need only be moderately blamed if he endeavoured to regain his power from the hands by which it had been wrested from him. In the past year he had provoked the jealousy and the suspicion of Warwick, by interfering in favour of Gardiner; he had been exposed, as in the instance of his mother's funeral, to petty insults and mortifications; and early in the spring of 1551 he had begun to meditate the possibility of revenging himself. Whalley, the fraudulent receiver of Yorkshire, one of the least reputable of his friends, had felt the pulses of the peers with a view to his restoration;* he became privy to Catholic conspiracies without revealing them; and, after his arrest, the missing link in the evidence, the

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
September.
But the
adminis-
tration
which suc-
ceeded was
worse.

Somerset
therefore
endeavours
to recover
his power.
His friends
make a
party
among the
Lords.

* On the 16th of February Whalley was examined before the council 'for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of Somerset Protector at the next Parliament, and stood to the denial, the Earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly.'—*EDWARD'S Journal.*

CH. 28. want of which had saved the Bishop of Durham from imprisonment a few months previously, was found in his desk. The council in their treatment of his friends provided him with unscrupulous partisans. Sir Ralph Vane, a distinguished soldier, had a right of pasturage by letters patent over lands which the Earl of Warwick claimed or coveted. Warwick sent his servants to drive Vane's cattle from the meadows; Vane defended his rights in arms, and was arrested and sent to the Tower,* as much, perhaps, because he was a follower of the duke, as for any offence of his own.

A.D. 1551.
September.

Sir Ralph Vane is ill-treated by Warwick.

Somerset meditates an appeal to the people.

The confinement was soon over; but the injury remained, and Vane became ready at any moment to rise in arms. Suspected before his intentions had assumed a definite form, Somerset, on the 23rd of April, had been on the point of flying, in a supposed fear of his life, with Lord Grey, to the northern counties, to call out the people and place himself at their head. He had been prevented only by Sir William Herbert, who assured him that he was in no danger,† and he had remained to oppose Warwick in the treatment of Mary. Unable to effect anything by legitimate opposition, he had listened to suggestions for a general toleration in religion;‡ he had consulted

* *Privy Council Records*, MS. March 27, 1551.

† The principal authorities for the story of Somerset's real or supposed conspiracy are the depositions and examinations in the 13th volume of the *Domestic MSS.* of the reign of Edward VI. State Paper Office; and the entries in *EDWARD'S Journal*.

‡ 'Whether did Sir Miles Partridge or any other give you advice to promise the people their mass, holy water, with such other, rather than to remain so unquieted?' — Questions addressed to the Duke of Somerset: TITLER, vol. ii. p. 48.

with Lord Arundel on calling a parliament, and appealing to the country against Warwick by proclamation;* and as the design of doing something assumed form, the Duchess of Somerset brought into it her brother Sir Michael Stanhope, and her half-brother Sir Thomas Arundel. Lord Strange was set to work upon the king to induce him to break his engagements with France, and marry Lady Jane Seymour instead. A scheme was formed to arrest and imprison Warwick, Northampton, and Herbert, into which the Earl of Arundel entered eagerly and warmly, and in which Lord Paget was, at least, a silent accomplice. Sir John Yorke, the Master of the Mint, was to be taken also, 'because he could tell many pretty things;' and as a violent arrest might perhaps be violently resisted, it was not impossible that lives might be taken in the scuffle. Somerset himself admitted that the deaths of Warwick and the other noblemen had been spoken of as a contingency which might occur: an intention that they should be killed, if he ever formed such, he soon relinquished. His plan, so long as it was entertained, was to treat the Lords as he had been treated himself, and to call parliament immediately, 'lest peradventure of one

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
September.
The project grows, and gathers adherents.

Warwick and his friends are to be arrested.

Somerset will deal with the Lords as he had been dealt with.

* 'Did it proceed first from yourself or from the Earl of Arundel to have a parliament? With how many have you conferred for the setting forth of the proclamation to persuade the people to mislike the government, and specially the doings of the Duke of Northumberland,

the Earl of Pembroke, and the Marquis of Northampton, doing them to understand that they went about to destroy the commonwealth, and also had caused the king to be displeased with the Lady Mary's Grace, the king's sister?'—TITLER, vol. ii. p. 48.

CH. 28. evil might happen another.' But his mind mis-
 gave him, and his purposes were vacillating.
 A.D. 1551.
 September. First, there was a doubt whether Herbert should
 be included in the arrest; afterwards, according
 to one witness, the duke changed his mind, 'and
 would meddle no further with the apprehension of
 any of the council, and said he was sorry he had
 gone so far with the Earl of Arundel.'*

So the matter stood in the beginning of Octo-
 ber. Among those who had been privy to the
 conspiracy was Sir Thomas Palmer, a soldier
 who had gained some credit by desperate service
 in the French wars, and had led the forlorn hope
 of cavalry who sacrificed themselves at Had-
 dington to enable supplies to reach the blockaded
 garrison; a brave man, but, as it seemed, a most
 unscrupulous one, whose services in a dangerous
 enterprise might be as useful as his fidelity was
 uncertain.

Sir Thomas
 Palmer, one
 of his ac-
 complices,
 Betrays the
 conspiracy
 to War-
 wick,

Palmer, on the 7th of October, came to Lord
 Warwick's house, and 'in my Lord's garden,'
 writes Edward,† 'he declared how St. George's
 day last past, my Lord of Somerset, who was then
 going to the north, if the Master of the Horse,
 Sir Wm. Herbert, had not assured him of his
 honour he should have no hurt, went to raise
 the people, and the Lord Grey went before to
 know who were his friends. Afterwards a device
 was made to call the Earl of Warwick to a ban-

* Charges against the Duke of Somerset: *MS. Domestic*,
 Edward VI. vol. xiii. State Paper Office; printed imperfectly by
 TYTLER.

† EDWARD'S *Journal*, October 8.

quet with the Marquis of Northampton and CH. 28.
divers others, and to cut off their heads. Also,
he formed a base company about them by the A.D. 1551.
way to set upon them. He declared also, that October.
Sir Ralph Vane had two thousand men in readi-
ness; Sir Thomas Arundel had assured my Lord
that the Tower was safe; Mr. Partridge should
raise London, and take the Great Seal with the
apprentices; Seymour* and Hammond should
wait upon himself, and all the horses of the gens-
darmes should be slain.'

Such was Palmer's story—truth and falsehood Telling the
being mingled together; truth, because part of it truth, but
was confirmed by other witnesses, and confessed adding to it
by the duke himself; falsehood, because War- falsehood.
wick (or Northumberland, as he was immediately
to be) confessed before his own death that the
Duke of Somerset had through his means been
falsely accused; and Palmer, also, before his
death, declared that the evidence to which he
had sworn had been invented by Warwick, and
had been maintained by himself at Warwick's re-
quest.† Whether Palmer's treachery for the first

* David Seymour; some con-
nexion of Somerset's family.

† The Duke of Northumber-
land, before going to the scaffold,
desired an interview with Somer-
set's sons:—Au quels il crya mer-
cy de l'injustice qu'il avoit faict
à leur Père Protecteur de l'An-
gleterre, congnoissant avoir pro-
curé sa mort à tort et faulsement.
Palmer avant sa mort a confessé
que l'escripture et l'accusation
qu'il advouche et maintint contre

le feu Protecteur estoit fausse,
fabriquée par le dict duc (de
Northumberland) et advoué par
luy à la requeste du dict duc.
Et y a d'estranges loix par de ça
sur le faict d'accusation que ce
peult faire par deux temoings,
encores qu'ils déposent singuliere-
ment et diversement. — Simon
Renard to Charles V.: *MS.*
Record Office. Transcribed
from the archives at Brussels.
If Palmer and Northumberland

CH. 28. time acquainted Warwick with Somerset's designs against him, or whether Warwick had watched their growth and sprang a countermines when the time was ripe, I am unable to determine. Certain only it is that Somerset, and Somerset's party, were become dangerous to him. He felt, perhaps with reason, that, if once in their power, he would find as little mercy at their hands as he intended that they should receive at his own; and inasmuch as the truth, if only the truth was known, might not ensure a conviction, inasmuch as the mere attempt at the overthrow of a faction might seem, in the eyes of the Lords who must try Somerset, rather a virtue than a crime—some additional atrocity had to be invented—something

A.D. 1551.

October.

Some trea-

cherous un-

derstand-

ing existed

between

Palmer and

Warwick.

really made these confessions, the question whether there was or was not foul play at the trial of the Duke of Somerset is set at rest; and by adopting Renard's story in the text, I show of course that I think it true; yet I have not adopted it without hesitation. Although there was a general belief, in which Cranmer and Ridley shared, that Somerset had been unfairly dealt with, it is strange that a foreign ambassador should be the only authority for so important a feature in the evidence about it. Palmer's story had nothing in it which in itself was incredible or even improbable; and unless Edward was imposed upon (which it is hard to suppose), as to the acknowledgments which were made by Somerset in open court at the time of his trial, those acknowledg-

ments confirm in substance all that Palmer stated. Renard's letter, too, was written when Northumberland had just failed in his attempt to alter the succession; and any charge against him, however monstrous, found ready hearing among the queen's friends. On the other hand, a distinct circumstantial statement of a competent witness is not to be lightly set aside, merely from circumstantial objections. No English minister was better informed than Renard of everything which passed in London at the time of Mary's accession. He was writing from the spot, and he was not a person to report on hearsay the flying rumours of the hour.

I give the result of my own reflections upon the subject. Readers who take an interest in the question will judge for themselves.

on which the law spoke too plainly for evasion, and which might diminish a sympathy otherwise likely to be troublesome. CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
October.

Palmer's revelations were kept profoundly secret, except, it may be, from Herbert and Northampton, and from Edward, who, duped by the plausible zeal of Warwick for the Protestant gospel, hearing only from the fanatic enthusiasts who surrounded him adulation of the earl as a champion of the Lord, and suspicious of his uncle as a backslider and apostate, listened and believed with the simplicity of a boy.* Though nothing definite transpired, however, there were movements in the State which created in Somerset a vague feeling of uneasiness: a report reached him that Palmer had been closeted with Warwick. Parliament, which was to have met on the 13th of October, was prorogued till January.† A muster of the gendarmerie was ordered for the 8th of November; and on the 11th of October there were significant and important changes in the peerage. Lord Dorset, Lady Jane Grey's father, was made Duke of Suffolk;‡ Warwick became Duke of Northumberland; Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, Marquis of Winchester; and Sir William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. The king takes Warwick's part.

Lord Dorset is made Duke of Suffolk, Warwick is made Duke of Northumberland, Paulet becomes Marquis of Winchester and Herbert Earl of Pembroke.

* The frigid hardness with which Edward relates in his *Journal* and one of his letters the proceedings against Somerset has been commented on with some sharpness. His age—he was but fourteen—and the miserable influences around him might excuse a greater crime. He believed that Somerset was guilty in the worst sense of the word, and with such a conviction the cold tone was natural and right.

† *Lords' Journals*.

‡ The title was vacant by the death, in the summer, of the two sons of Charles Brandon.

CH. 28.

A. D. 1551.
October.
Somerset
cross-ques-
tions Cecil
and Pal-
mer.

The elevation of the men against whose power, if not life, the late Protector was conspiring, naturally alarmed him. He sent for Cecil (now Sir William Cecil, and Secretary of State), and inquired if he was in any danger. Cecil replied 'that, if he was not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he was, he had nothing to say but to lament him.' It was an answer calculated neither to soothe nor please. The duke, says Edward, defied Cecil, and sent for and cross-questioned Palmer. Palmer, of course, denied that he had said anything against him, true or false; and he remained anxious and uncertain till the 16th, when he appeared as usual at the meeting of the Privy Council.

October 16.
Somerset
is arrested
at the
council
board.

By this time Warwick's preparations were complete. It is to be hoped that the full extent of his iniquity was kept secret between himself and his instrument, that the council, like Edward, were his dupes. In the afternoon of that day Somerset was arrested on a charge of treason, and sent to the Tower, where he was followed immediately after by the duchess, Lord Arundel, Sir Thomas Arundel, Paget, Grey, Stanhope, Partridge, and many more. Vane escaped across the river, and hid himself in a stable at Lambeth; but he was betrayed, or discovered, in a few hours.

Palmer en-
larges his
evidence.

Palmer now enlarged his evidence. The gendarmerie, he said, were to have been assaulted on the muster-day by Somerset's retinue and Sir Ralph Vane's two thousand footmen; the cry of liberty was to have been raised in London;

and, in case of failure, the conspirators were to have fallen back on Poole or the Isle of Wight. Another witness supported this part of the story; and here, it is likely enough, that it was true. The banquet, it was further said, where the Lords were to have been killed, was to have been held at the house of Lord Paget.*

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
October.

The next step was to send the usual circulars to the magistrates, informing them of the near escape of the king and commonwealth from conspiracy; and letters to the same effect were sent to Pickering and Chamberlain, to lay before the courts of Paris and Brussels. Henry affected to believe,—Northumberland being in the interests of France;† the Regent Mary, perhaps for the same reason, scarcely cared to conceal her incredulity.‡

The prosecution was temporarily interrupted by the arrival and entertainment in London of Mary of Guise, on her route from France to

* It is to be remarked that, in the subsequent proceedings, although the banquet was alluded to, the intended scene of it was not again mentioned. Neither Paget nor Arundel was tried, although, if any plot was really formed for the murder, Arundel was one of the principal persons concerned in it.

† Pickering to the Council: TYTLER, vol. ii.

‡ Chamberlain told her of 'his Majesty's escape.' 'She said she was sorry to hear of the duke's so evil behaviour; yet was she glad and thanked God,

who had so well preserved his Highness. But is it true, she said, that the duke meant anything to the King's Majesty's person; demanding by what means he could be able to do the same, musing much at the matter why the duke would shew himself so ingrate towards the King's Majesty. The thing, quoth she, is very strange, for that by all reason the duke's whole wealth did depend upon the King's Majesty's prosperity and welfare. — *MS. Flanders*, Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

CH. 28. Scotland; and, at the same time, by an invitation from Maurice and the other Protestant princes, to join in the great enterprise about to be attempted against the Emperor. But the pageant of a royal entertainment was soon over, and Warwick and his friends were too deeply disloyal to the cause of which they were so loud professors, to join in a religious confederacy. Their own idea of foreign policy was the balance of power, which no other object, divine or human, ought to derange,* and the Germans were put off with an evasive answer, and at last with an equivalent to a refusal.† Northumberland's attention was demanded for a more serious object.

A.D. 1551.
November.
The Lutheran
princes
apply to
England
for assistance,
which is not
granted.

Examinations in the
Tower.
The duke
confesses
his real
intentions.

November was spent in a series of private examinations of the prisoners in the Tower. Crane, the witness who had supported Palmer, declared, on being cross-questioned, that Somerset's intentions, whatever they were, had been abandoned. Lord Arundel admitted reluctantly, and after many denials, a design formed by himself and the duke to arrest Northumberland and

* It is well explained in a despatch of Doctor Wotton, who, to do him justice, did not affect much interest in the Reformation. France, in spite of professions of friendship, he looked upon as a treacherous neighbour. 'From France,' he said, 'danger may, perhaps, be suspected, if the Protestants, plucking their heads out of the yoke, and labouring to recover their oppressed liberty, deliver the French from all fear and suspicion of

the Emperor.' To sacrifice the Protestants, lest the Emperor should be too much weakened, to irritate the quarrels between the Emperor and France, lest either of them should meddle with England, was the ignoble policy of an English liberal government. —Wotton to Cecil: *MS. State Paper Office*.

† EDWARD'S *Journal*, November, 1551, and March, 1552.

Northampton at the council, and to compel a change in the mode of government.* Ham-
mond, one of the duke's servants, deposed to a guard which the duke kept in his ante-room. A collection of questions remain, which were addressed to the duke himself, though his answers are lost; and these questions are important, as has been well observed,† since they contain no allusion to the intended assassination. Other evidence was obtained also, but of an immaterial kind. On the 30th the witnesses were examined severally before the peers who were to sit upon the trial, and they swore all of them that their confessions were true, 'without compulsion, fear, envy, or displeasure.' The next morning, the first of December, at five o'clock, in the winter darkness, the duke was brought in a barge from the Tower to Westminster Hall. In fear of a demonstration, which the popularity of Somerset made more than likely, an order of council had been sent out the day before, that every household should keep within doors, and that in each house one man at least should be ready with his arms, to be called out, if order should be disturbed. But the eagerness of the people defied the command to stay at home, and by daybreak Palace-yard and the court before the hall were thronged with a vast multitude, all passionately devoted to Somerset, all execrating his rival. The court was formed; Lord Winchester sitting

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
November.

Dec. 1.
Somerset is
arraigned
at West-
minster
Hall.

* Confession of Lord Arundel: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiii. printed partially by TITLER.

† By Mr. TITLER.

CH. 28. as High Steward. Twenty-six peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke among them, took their seats, and at nine o'clock the prisoner was led forward to the bar.*

A.D. 1551.
December.

He is accused of treason and felony.

He admits that he had spoken of killing Northumberland.

Under the Act of Unlawful Assemblies† the late Protector was charged, under various counts, with having treasonably collected men in his house for an ill intent, as to kill the Duke of Northumberland; with having devised the death of the Lords of the Council; with having intended to raise the city of London to assault the Lords of the Council; and, finally, with having purposed to resist his arrest. On the last three counts he was further indicted for felony. As usual in trials for treason, the principal witnesses were not brought into court; their depositions, taken down elsewhere, were read aloud. The duke, when called on to answer, admitted that he had collected men, and that he had spoken of killing Northumberland and Northampton; but afterwards he said

* For the particulars of Somerset's trial, see EDWARD'S *Journal*, STOW, HOLINSHED, the *Privy Council Register*, the papers in vol. xiii. of the *Domestic MSS.* of the reign of Edward VI., the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, and the second volume of Mr. TYTLER'S *Edward and Mary*.

† 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 5: If any persons to the number of twelve or above, being assembled together, shall practice with force of arms unlawfully and of their

own authority to murder, kill, slay, take, or imprison any of the King's most honourable Privy Council, or unlawfully to alter or change any laws made or established by authority of parliament, and being commanded by the sheriff of the shire, or any justice of the peace, to retire to their own houses, shall remain together for one hour after such proclamation, or after that shall attempt or do any of the things above specified, every such act shall be judged high treason.

he 'determined the contrary.*' He denied an intention of raising the city of London, or the northern counties. The story of the banquet, he said, was altogether false. When Crane's evidence was read, he desired that Crane might be produced in court, and confronted with him. Palmer, he said, was a worthless villain. Lord Strange was the only witness who came forward in person. Strange declared that Somerset had moved him to persuade the king to break with France, and marry Lady Seymour. This, too, Somerset denied; but Strange persisted. The peers withdrew. Northumberland, possibly in pretended moderation, but more likely to ensure a condemnation,† disclaimed a desire to press the treason charge; for a lighter verdict Somerset's own confession seemed sufficient. On the first count, therefore, the Lords returned a verdict of not guilty. Amidst a murmur of applause, the sergent-at-arms left the hall with the axe of the Tower. The anxious crowd at the doors, mistaking his appearance for a final acquittal, sent up a shout again, and again, and again, which pealed up to Charing Cross, and was heard in Long Acre. But congratulations were premature.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
December.
He declares
that he had
relinquish-
ed the in-
tention,
and denies
the other
charges.

Somerset
is acquitted
of treason,

* And yet, says Edward, 'he seemed to admit that he went about their deaths.'—*Journal*, December, 1551.

† Lord Coke, commenting upon the trial, observes that, even admitting the truth of the evidence, the verdict was not justified, because there had been no proclamation calling on the

duke and his confederates to disperse; and it was only by persisting, after such proclamation had been read, that his conduct came under the Treason Act. Northumberland probably anticipated the objection, and was contented with an ordinary verdict of felony under the common law.

CH. 28. Acquitted of treason, the duke was found guilty of felony, which would answer equally to ensure his destruction;* Winchester pronounced sentence of death; and, amidst the awful silence which followed, the duke fell on his knees, thanking the court for his trial, and, unless Edward was deceived by a purposely false report, asked Northumberland to pardon him, confessing that he had meant his destruction.† 'Duke of Somerset,' Northumberland answered from his seat, 'you see yourself a man in peril of life and sentenced to die. Once before I saved you in a like danger, nor will I desist to serve you now, though you may not believe me. Appeal to the mercy of the King's Majesty, which I doubt not he will extend to you. For myself, gladly I pardon all things which you have designed against me, and I will do my best that your life may be spared.'‡

A.D. 1551.
December.
But is
found
guilty of
felony,

And sen-
tenced to
death.

He thanks
the court
for his trial,
and asks
Northum-
berland's
pardon.

The truth is hard to read through such a maze of treachery. If it be true that Somerset confessed, either in the court or the Tower, that he had really

* Edward, writing to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick, says, 'After debating the matter till nine of the clock till three, the Lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterwards more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, which he seemed to have confessed.'—Edward to Fitz-

patrick: printed in FULLER'S *Church History*.

† Edward to Fitzpatrick: Ibid. Edward adds, in his *Journal*, that two days after, Somerset confessed in the Tower that he had hired a man named Bertiville to kill Northumberland and Northampton; that Bertiville was arrested, and on being examined, confessed also.

‡ John ab Ulmis to Bullinger: *Epistolæ Tigurinae*, p. 291.

meditated murder, he was no better than Northumberland; interest or sympathy is alike wasted upon either, and Palmer's evidence may, in that case, have been exaggerated only because the intended crime was certain, though the proof was insufficient. Yet, if Northumberland had but anticipated a blow which had been aimed against himself, his conduct would scarcely have sate so heavily on his conscience. Scarcely, too, would Cranmer or Ridley, unlike the pious flatterers of the now all-powerful statesman, have risked his anger with 'shewing their consciences' in such a cause.*

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
December.

But if to the historical inquirer it seems doubtful whether the guilt was on both sides or but on one; the world at the time entertained no such uncertainty. So deep was the excitement, so general the suspicion of the verdict, that it was found necessary to overawe London two days after with a parade of the gendarmerie. Arundel and Paget were examined in the Star Chamber with closed doors, but a second trial was a risk too great to be ventured.

The people, satisfied of Somerset's innocence, are loud in their outcries.

When parliament was prorogued in October, there had been an evident dread of the humour which might be shown by the Lower House; and

* 'I have heard that Cranmer and another, whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure; the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the Duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning against the spoil of the Church goods taken away without law or order of justice, by commandment of the higher powers.'—*Ridley's Lamentation on the State of England*: FOXE, vol. vii. p. 573. Ridley must be supposed to mean himself by the 'other' whom he will not name.

CH. 28. measures had been taken to secure assistance there which might be depended upon.* Mean-
 time Northumberland's friends gave out that, on
 the trial, and since the trial, he had exerted
 himself in Somerset's interest with unparalleled
 generosity. The execution was delayed perhaps
 to give colour to the story, and it was reported
 first that the king had granted a free pardon;†
 next it was said that a pardon had been offered,
 but that the duke, counting on his own or
 his friends' power, would not accept it, and had
 flung back the generous overtures of the council
 with scorn and insolence.‡ The death of his
 brother was brought back against him with in-
 genious misrepresentation.§ His arrogance, it
 was pretended, could no longer be endured, and,
 should he escape punishment, he would throw the
 whole realm into confusion to revenge himself.||

Calvin, more keen-sighted than the correspon-

A. D. 1551.
 December.
 The friends
 of Nor-
 thumber-
 land pro-
 fess that
 he had
 endea-
 voured to
 save
 Somerset.

That a
 pardon had
 been offered
 him, which
 he refused,

* 'A letter to be written to the Lord Chancellor to cause search to be made how many of the parliament house be dead since the last session, to the intent that grave and wise men might be elected to supply their place, for the avoiding of the misorder that hath been noted in sundry young men and others of small judgement.'—*Privy Council Register, MS.* October 28, 1551. The council had never ventured on a second trial of the disposition of the country. The same parliament continued to sit which was elected in 1547.

† John ab Ulmis to Bullinger: *Epistola* TIGURINÆ.

‡ Burgoyne to Calvin : *Ibid.*

§ 'It is notorious to every one that he was the occasion of his brother's death, who was beheaded on his information, instigated by I know not what hatred and rivalry.'—*Ibid.* Elizabeth, a better authority than Burgoyne, said that, so anxious was Somerset to save the admiral, that those who were determined on his death found it necessary to prevent an interview between the brothers.—*Supra.*

|| Burgoyne to Calvin.

dent who furnished him with these stories, mediated a remonstrance to the king, with a caution against the advisers who were betraying him.* CH. 28.
In England the general indignation could not be concealed by the loud applauses of the revolutionists. It was likely enough that, were Somerset free, there would be a convulsion; but men could not be convinced that any change would be an evil which would deliver them from the hated Northumberland.†

A.D. 1552.
January.

But the world refuses to believe;

No alteration could be expected in the popular feeling, and the irritation would be inflamed by longer delay. The execution was fixed at last for the morning of the 22nd of January.

And the execution is resolved upon.

As an attempt at rescue was anticipated, an order of council again commanded all inhabitants of the city or the suburbs to keep to their houses. A thousand men-at-arms brought in from the country were drawn up on Tower Hill, and with the gendarmerie formed a ring round the scaffold; but the proclamation was not more effectual at the execution than at the trial. As the day dawned, the great square and every avenue of approach to it were thronged with

Precautions are taken to prevent a rescue.

* Addebat ille te in animo habere de ducis morte nescis quid adversus nostros homines scribere immo ad regem ipsum.—Valerandus Pollanus Joanni Calvino: *Epistola Trigueinæ*.

† The new coinage, good as it was, could find no favour, from the dread and suspicion in which

the Duke of Northumberland was held.

'December 16, there was a proclamation for the new coin, that no man should speak ill of it: for because the people said divers . . . that there was the ragged staff . . . it . . .—Imperfect Fragment in the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*.

CH. 28. spectators, pressing on all sides against the circle of armed men.

A. D. 1552.
Jan. 22.
Somerset
is brought
to the
scaffold.

A little before eight o'clock the Tower guard brought up their prisoner. Somerset's countenance was singularly handsome, and both his features and his person were marked with an habitual expression of noble melancholy. Amidst his many faults he was every inch a gentleman. He was dressed in the splendid costume which he had worn in receptions of state. As he stepped upon the scaffold, he knelt and said a short prayer; he then rose, and, bowing to the people, spoke bareheaded.*

He speaks
to the
people.

'Masters and good fellows. I am come hither to die; but a true and faithful man as any was unto the King's Majesty and to his realm. But I am condemned by a law whereunto I am subject, as we all, and therefore to show obedience I am content to die; wherewith I am well content, being a thing most heartily welcome to me; for the which I do thank God, taking it for a singular benefit as ever might have come to me otherwise. For, as I am a man, I have deserved at God's hand many deaths; and it has pleased his goodness, whereas He might have taken me suddenly, that I should neither have known Him nor myself, thus now to visit me and call me with this present death as you do see, where I

* There are several reports of Somerset's last words. That in the text is from an MS. printed by Sir Henry Ellis, which is simpler and shorter than the version given by Foxe and Holinshed, and was most likely the nucleus out of which the latter accounts were expanded. I have added one sentence, that marked between brackets, from Burgoyne's letter to Calvin.

have had time to remember and acknowledge Him, and to know also myself, for the which I do thank Him most heartily. And, my friends, more I have to say to you concerning religion: I have been always, being in authority, a furtherer of it to the glory of God to the uttermost of my power; whereof I am nothing sorry, but rather have cause and do rejoice most gladly that I have so done, for the greatest benefit of God that ever I had, or any man might have in this world, beseeching you all to take it so, and to follow it on still; for, if not, there will follow and come a worse and great plague.'

CH. 28.

A.D. 1552.
Jan. 22.

He was still speaking, when the crowd began suddenly to wave and shift. Through the breathless silence a noise was heard like the trampling of the feet of a large number of men approaching: some thought it was a rescue, some one thing, some another; shouts rose, away! away! the packed multitude attempted to scatter, and as the sound had created the alarm, the alarm now increased the sound. Some cried that it thundered, some that an army was coming down from heaven, some felt the earth shake under their feet. The mystery was merely that a company of soldiers, who had been ordered to be at Tower Hill by eight o'clock, and had found themselves late, were coming at a run through an adjoining street;* but no one thought of looking for a reasonable cause.

A party of soldiers, coming late to Tower Hill, the people are alarmed.

* Stow was present, and ascertained carefully the origin of the alarm.

CH. 28. 'There was a rumbling,' says Machyn,* 'as it
 had been guns shooting, and great horses coming.
 A.D. 1552. Jan. 22. A thousand fell to the ground for fear, for that
 A panic follows, and in the midst of it a cry rises of pardon. they on the one side thought no other but that
 the one was killing the other; a hundred fell
 into the Tower ditch, and some ran away for fear.'

In the midst of the confusion, Sir Anthony Browne was seen forcing his horse through the throng towards the scaffold, and above the clamour rose a shout of 'Pardon, pardon; a pardon from the king.'

Had Somerset been deceived, it would have been a cruel aggravation of his suffering; but he knew Northumberland too well.

Somerset,
 however,
 is not
 deceived.

He had stood in the front of the scaffold with his cap in his hand, waiting till the noise should cease. At the cry of a pardon he exclaimed: 'There is no such thing, good people; there is no such thing.' His voice quieted them, and he went on with his address:—

He con-
 cludes his
 speech,

'It is the ordinance of God thus to die, where-
 with we must be content; [I beseech you do not
 grieve for my fortunes; keep yourselves quiet
 and still, and make no disturbance, or attempt to
 save me, for I do not desire a longer life]; and
 let us now pray together for the King's Majesty,
 to whose Grace I have always been a faithful,
 true, and most loving subject, desirous always of
 his most prosperous success in all his affairs, and
 ever glad of the furtherance and helping forward
 of the commonwealth of this realm.'

* MACHYN'S *Diary*, January 22.

At the concluding words voices answered, CH. 28.
'Yes, yes, yes.' Some one cried above the rest,
'This is found now too true.' A.D. 1552.
Jan. 22.

The duke then drew off his rings, and gave Throws off
his cloak,
kneels,
and dies.
them to the executioner. Dropping his cloak, he
unbuckled his sword, which he presented to the
Lieutenant of the Tower, and, after a few
words with the Dean of Christ Church, who had
attended him, he loosened his shirt-collar, and
knelt quietly before the block. Three times he
was heard to say, 'Lord Jesus, save me.' The
headsman's arm rose, fell, and all was over.

The English public, often wildly wrong on The by-
standers
dip their
handker-
chiefs in
his blood.
general questions, are good judges, for the most
part, of personal character; and so passionately
was Somerset loved, that those who were nearest
the scaffold started forward to dip their hand-
kerchiefs in his blood. His errors were forgotten
in the tragedy of his end; and the historian
who in his life found much to censure, who, had
he recovered his Protectorate, would, perhaps,
have been obliged to repeat the same story of
authority unwisely caught at and unwisely used,
can find but good words only for the victim of
the treachery of Northumberland.

In revolutions the most excellent things are
found ever side by side with the most base.
The enthusiast for the improvement of mankind
works side by side with the adventurer, to whom
change is welcome, that he may better his fortune
in the scramble: and thus it is that patriots The two
orders of
Reformers.
and religious reformers show in fairest colours
when their cause is ungained, when they are a

CH. 28. struggling minority chiefly called upon to suffer.

A.D. 1552.
Jan. 22.

Gold and silver will not answer for the purposes of a currency till they are hardened with some interfusion of coarser metal; and truth and justice, when they have forced their way to power, make a compromise with the world, and accept some portion of the world's spirit as the price at which they may exercise their ever limited dominion. So it is at the best: too often, as the devil loves most to mar the fairest works, the good, when success is gained, are pushed aside as dreamers, or used only as a shield for the bad deeds of their confederates; they are happy if their own nature escape infection from the instruments which they use, and from the elements in which they are compelled to work.

Cranmer,
keeping
himself
aloof from
the crimes
of the go-
vernment,

While the lay ministers of Edward VI. were 'sowing the wind,' where the harvest in due time would follow, Archbishop Cranmer, keeping aloof more and more from them and their doings, or meddling in them only to protest, was working silently at the English Prayer-book. No plunder of church or crown had touched the hands of Cranmer. No fibre of political intrigue, or crime, or conspiracy could be traced to the palace at Lambeth. He had lent himself, it was true, in his too great eagerness to carry out the Reformation, to the persecution and deposition of Bonner and Gardiner; but his share*

* Underhill, 'the hot gossipeller,' tells in his *Narrative* how in the palmy days of Northumberland he arrested the Vicar of Stepney, 'Abbot quondam of Tower Hill,' and carried him to Croydon before the archbishop. The vicar had disturbed the

had been slight in the more recent acts of violence which recovered to the Catholics the hearts of the English people; and to the last he was considered by the ultras as timid and intellectually weak.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1552.
January.

Whether the charge of timidity was true, he had an opportunity of showing when Edward died and Northumberland recanted; when the noisy tongues of the gospellers were heard only at a safe distance, and the so-called timid ones remained to witness to their faith in suffering. Happily for his memory, and happily for the Church of England, the archbishop was more nobly occupied than the 'gospellers' desired to see him.

As the translation of the Bible bears upon it the imprint of the mind of Tyndal, so, while the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the Breviary; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime

Was silently working at the English Prayer-book.

preachers in Stepney Church, caused the bells to be rung when they were at sermon, and challenged their doctrine in the pulpit. 'The archbishop was too full of lenity,' 'a little he rebuked him, and bid him do no more so.' The Puritan's zeal was kindled. 'My Lord,' said Underhill, 'methinks you are too gentle unto so stout a papist.'—'We have no law to punish them,' said the archbishop.—'No law? my Lord,' the gospeller exclaimed; 'if I

had your authority, I would be so bold to unvicar him, or minister some sharp punishment unto him. If ever it come to their turn, they will show you no such favour.'—'Well,' said the archbishop, 'if God so provide, we must abide it.'—'Surely,' said Underhill, 'God will never thank you for this, but rather take the sword from such as will not use it upon his enemies.'—UNDERHILL'S *Narrative*, MS. *Harleian*, 425.

CH. 28. like church-bells in the ears of the English child.

A.D. 1552.
January.

The spirit
of Cranmer
represented all
that was
best in the
Reforma-
tion.

The translations, and the addresses which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit. So long as Cranmer trusted himself, and would not let himself be dragged beyond his convictions, he was the representative of the feelings of the best among his countrymen. With the reverend love for the past, which could appropriate its excellences, he could feel at the same time the necessity for change. While he could no longer regard the sacraments with a superstitious idolatry, he saw in them ordinances divinely appointed, and therefore especially, if inexplicably, sacred.

Flux and
reflux of
opinion on
the nature
of the sa-
craments.

In this temper, for the most part, the English church services had now, after patient labour, been at length completed by him, and were about to be laid before parliament. They had grown slowly. First had come the Primers of Henry VIII.; then the Litany was added; and then the first Communion-book. The next step was the Prayer-book of 1549; and now at last the complete Liturgy, which survives after three hundred years. In a few sentences only, inserted apparently under the influence of Ridley, doctrinal theories were pressed beyond the point to which opinion was legitimately gravitating. The priest was converted absolutely into a minister, the altar into a table, the eucharist into a commemoration, and a commemoration only. But these peculiarities were uncöngenial with the rest of the Liturgy, with which they refused to harmonize; and on the final establishment of the

Church of England, were dropped or modified.* CH. 28.
 They were, in fact, the seed of vital alterations,
 for which the nation was unprepared; which,
 had Edward lived two years longer, would have
 produced, first, the destruction of the Church as a
 body politic, and then an after-fruit of re-action
 more inveterate than even the terrible one under
 Mary. But Edward died before the Liturgy
 could be further tampered with; and from amidst
 the foul weeds in which its roots were buried it
 stands up beautiful, the one admirable thing

A.D. 1552.
January.

General
character
of the
Liturgy.

* Prayer-book of 1549.

The priest shall first receive the communion in both kinds, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the chief minister, and after to the people. And when he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one—

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life.

And the minister delivering the sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once, and no more, shall say—

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life.

Prayer-book of 1552.

Then shall the minister first receive the communion in both kinds himself; and next deliver it to other ministers, if there be any present, that they may help the chief minister; and after to the people in their hands, kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say—

Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the minister that delivereth the cup shall say—

Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

Prayer-book of Elizabeth.

Then shall the minister first receive the communion in both kinds himself; and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests, and deacons in like manner, if any be present; and after that to the people also in their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread to any one, he shall say—

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the minister that delivereth the cup to any one, shall say—

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

Similarly in the consecration of the elements, the sign of the cross was directed to be used in 1549, and omitted in 1552. There were other changes. The discerning reader will see the spirit of them in these comparisons.

CH. 28. which the unhappy reign produced. Prematurely born, and too violently forced upon the country, it was, nevertheless, the right thing, the thing which essentially answered to the spiritual demands of the nation. They rebelled against it, because it was precipitately thrust upon them; but services which have overlived so many storms speak for their own excellence, and speak for the merit of the workman.

A.D. 1552.
January.

The articles of religion, what they are, and what they are not.

As the Liturgy was prepared for parliament and people, so for the convocation and the clergy there were drawn up a body of articles of religion: forty-two of them, as they were first devised; thirty-nine, as they are now known to the theological student. These also have survived, and, like other things in this country, have survived their utility, and the causes which gave them birth. Articles of belief they have been called; articles of teaching; articles of peace. Protestants who have restored the right of private judgment, who condemn so emphatically the articles added by the Council of Trent to the Christian creed, not for themselves only, but because human beings are not permitted to bind propositions of their own upon the consciences of believers, will scarcely pretend that they are the first. If it be unlawful for a Catholic council to enlarge the dogmatic system of Christianity, no more can it be permitted to a local church to impose upon the judgment a series of intricate assertions on theological subtleties which the most polemical divines will not call vital, or on questions

of public and private morality, where the conscience should be the only guide. CH. 28.

The death of the Duke of Somerset was followed by the trial and execution of Vane, Partridge, Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel. The condemnation of Arundel was effected with great difficulty. The jury were shut up on a day in January twenty-four hours, without fire, food, or drink, before they would agree upon a verdict, and the four sufferers died protesting their innocence. A.D. 1552.
January.
Somerset's
confederates are
executed.

Jan. 28.

On the 30th of January Northumberland met parliament. Parliament
meets.

The Prayer-book passed without difficulty. Cuthbert Tunstal, the last bishop who would have opposed it, had joined Gardiner in the Tower, the letter found among Somerset's papers having furnished an excuse to lay hands upon him; and a second act was passed for uniformity of religious worship—persons who refused to come to church being liable to censure or excommunication, those who attended any other service to imprisonment. The act of
uniformity
is passed
without
difficulty.

A zeal was affected also for the more practical parts of religion, the humour of the people becoming dangerous, and the more earnest among the Reformers insisting on being heard. In a sermon before the king, Ridley had spoken of the distress to which the spoliation of public charities had reduced the London poor. Edward sent for him afterwards, thanked him for what he had said, and asked him what should be done. Too wise to refer such a question to the council, the bishop said that the corporation of the city were Ridley
preaches
before the
king on the
distress of
the people.

CH. 28. the best persons to consult with, and Edward wrote a letter to Sir Richard Dobbs, the mayor, with which Ridley charged himself. The corporation, in the last few years, had shown in favourable contrast with the government. While the dependents of Somerset and Northumberland were appropriating and absorbing hospitals and schools, the Lord Mayor and aldermen had founded others at their own expense; and now, on the invitation of the king, they proceeded in the same direction with more effective energy. The House of the Grey Friars was repaired and refitted for the education of poor children, under the name of Christ's Hospital. St. Thomas's Hospital, which had been suppressed, was purchased by the corporation for the reception of the impotent and diseased poor. St. Bartholomew's was surrendered by the crown into the mayor's hands, with fresh endowments; and the royal palace of Bridewell, a little later, with the estate which had belonged to the Hospital of the Savoy, was made over as a workhouse for able-bodied labourers out of employ.*

A.D. 1552.
February.
The corporation of London redeem in part the faults of the council.

Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's, and St. Bartholomew's are re-founded and re-endowed.

* HOLINSHED. *Stow's Survey of London*. Bridewell was granted by the crown at the particular entreaty of Ridley, whose characteristic letter to Cecil on the subject survives.

Good Mr. Cecil,

I must be a suitor to you in our master Christ's cause. I beseech you be good unto him. The matter is, sir, alas, he hath lyen too long abroad, as you do know, without lodging, in

the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. Now thanks be unto Almighty God, the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, clothing, and firing. But alas, sir, they lack lodging for him; for in some one house they say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide large house of the King's Majesty's called Bridewell that would wonderful

Not to be left too far behind by the citizens, CH. 28. the government exerted themselves in the same direction. An act was passed in parliament for the collection of alms for the poor in every parish. The contributions were nominally voluntary, but payment might be enforced by the reproofs of the clergy, the censures of the Church, and by punishment at the discretion of the bishop.* The scandalous frauds in the manufacture of woollen cloth having injured the credit of the trade,† the sheep-farming no longer yielded its disproportionate profits; the tillage question could, therefore, be taken up again with a chance of success. Commissioners were appointed to hold district courts, to empanel juries, and compel the owners to bring their recent pastures under the plough.‡ The Flanders Jews having made the govern-

A.D. 1552.
February.
Parliament
passes
measures
for social
reform.

well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court as would procure in his cause. Surely, I have so good an opinion in the King's Majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends that would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens in this matter to move you, because I take you for one that feareth God, and would not that Christ should lie no more abroad in the street. There is a rumour that one goeth about to buy that house of the King's Majesty, and to pull it down. If there be any such thing, for God's sake speak you in our

Master's cause. I have written unto Mr. Gates more at large in this matter. I join you with him and all that look for Christ's benediction in the latter day. If Mr. Cheke was with you, in whose recovery God be blessed, I would surely make him in this behalf one of Christ's special advocates, or rather one of his principal proctors; and surely I would not be said nay. And thus I wish you in Christ ever well to fare. From my house at Fulham this present Sunday.

Yours in Christ,

NIC. LONDON.

—*Lansdowne MSS.* 3.

* 5 Edward VI. cap. 2.

† Ibid. cap. 6.

‡ Ibid. cap. 5.

CH. 28. ment susceptible on money questions, they passed a statute of usury, which formed a curious complement to their general administration of the finances. By the 9th of the 37th of Henry VIII., the legal interest of money was limited to ten per cent. 'But this was not meant,' it was now declared,* 'as if to allow usury, which was a thing unlawful,' 'a vice most odious and detestable;' but only 'for the avoiding of more ill and inconvenience that before that time was used:' and since a sense of their duties in this matter 'could by no godly teaching and persuasion sink into the hearts of divers greedy, uncharitable, and covetous persons,' it was decreed that thenceforward no interest of any kind should be demanded or given upon any loan, under pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, and fine.

A.D. 1552.
February.
Statute of
usury.

An act to
deprive the
Bishop of
Durham is
rejected by
the House
of Com-
mons.

The bishop
is deprived
by a lay
committee.

So far all had gone smoothly. On other matters the Commons were more suspicious and less tractable. The forfeiture of the estates of the Duke of Somerset gave occasion to a sharp debate. A Protestant heresy bill, introduced 'for the protection of the king's subjects from such heresies as might happen by strangers dwelling among them,' was referred to a committee of bishops; but fell through and was lost.† Northumberland, intending to appropriate the estates of the bishopric of Durham, brought in a bill to deprive Tunstal, on a charge of treason, and succeeded, in spite of Cranmer's opposition,

* 5 Edward VI. cap. 20.

† *Lords Journals*, 5 and 6 Edward VI.

in carrying it through the Lords. The Lower House, however, required that Tunstal's accusers should be brought face to face with him, and that he should be heard in his defence, which for many reasons would be inconvenient. The duke, therefore, withdrew his bill, and proceeded by commission, which did the work for him less scrupulously, but did not improve his reputation. Cranmer refused to sit, and the Bishop of Durham was deposed by a court composed of laymen.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1552.
March.

Still more significant was the treatment which a new statute of treason received in the House of Commons. As the administration became more detested, incendiary pamphlets and handbills multiplied, and it was desired to restore in some degree the sharp discipline of the last reign. The Lords again complied.* The Commons rejected the government measure, and drew another of their own.† In the absence of a copy of the rejected bill, it is impossible to say what it contained; it may be conjectured, however, with some certainty, that it did not contain a clause which appears in the act as it was finally passed, a clause providing that no person should in future be attainted or convicted of treason under that or any other statute, unless the charges in the in-

The Commons reform the treason law.

* It is easy to see why: there were but forty-seven lay peers who had seats in this parliament; thirty-one was the fullest attendance during this session, the Catholic lords systematically absenting themselves. . The council

and their friends, therefore, being punctually at their seats, and having bishops of their own creation at their backs, were certain in almost all cases of a majority.

† *Commons Journals*, 5 and 6 Edward VI.

CH. 28. dictment should have been first proved in the presence of the accused by two witnesses at least.*

A.D. 1552.
April 15.

Parliament
is dis-
solved.

Northumberland's endeavours to fill the vacant seats in the House with wise and discreet persons had been too successful. The composition did not please him, and on the 15th of April the first parliament of Edward VI. was dissolved.

Affairs of
Germany.

Outward events, however, continued to favour him, tempting him to believe himself irresistible, and leading him on to the fatal step which for the moment made shipwreck of the Reformation. The English council had refused the application of Duke Maurice and the princes of the League for assistance. They had declined to take part in a movement which was to break the power of Charles V. in Germany for ever, and give peace for three quarters of a century to the Lutheran churches. Magdeburg still held out; but the secret of Maurice's intentions was so well kept that, although Charles suspected him of voluntary negligence, he seems to have entertained no

* 'Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall be indicted, arraigned, condemned, convicted, or attainted for any treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be, which shall hereafter be perpetrated, committed, or done, unless the same offender or offenders be thereof accused by two lawful accusers, which said accusers, at the time of the arraignment of the party accused, if they be then living, shall be

brought in person before the party so accused, and avow and maintain that that they have to say against the said party, to prove him guilty of the treason or offences contained in the bill of indictment laid against the party arraigned.'—5 and 6 Edward, cap. xi. sec. 9. The act containing this salutary order was repealed by the 1st of Mary, or the reform of the English treason law would have been antedated by a century.

serious misgivings about him. He had spies in the duke's camp; but his spies played him false, or were themselves deceived; and while Maurice was corresponding with England and France, and making preparations for a general revolt, the Emperor, in fancied security, had arranged to go to Innspruck, to be in the neighbourhood of the Council of Trent, when the Protestant representatives should present themselves there in the course of the winter.

CH. 28.

A. D. 1551.
August.
Charles V.,
before
leaving
Augsburg,

On leaving Augsburg Charles ventured on a measure of imprudent intimidation. His inability to enforce the Interim there, even in his own presence, and under his own eyes, had exasperated him. On the 26th of August the Bishop of Arras sent for the Protestant clergy; accused them briefly of disobedience to the Imperial rescripts; and requiring them to take an oath to depart out of Germany, he ordered them at once, and without an hour's delay, to leave their houses and the town. In vain they appealed to the law, and claimed the privileges of citizens. They were driven out, and Sir Richard Morryson, writing from the spot, describes the consequences of this high-handed tyranny. 'Men do much marvel,' he wrote to the council, 'that M. d'Arras durst venture to do this; more, that he durst do it at this time; more than all, that the Emperor would consent to a thing that so easily might have turned him, his court, yea, his whole city, to trouble; but what doth greedy ambition stick at, or what doth not desperate desire force men to attempt? The Emperor's friends be fleeing

Expels the
Lutheran
clergy.
August 26.

CH. 28. again, his enemies ready to do their worst; he

A.D. 1551.
August.

The inhabitants re-
monstrate
in vain,

must, therefore, make friends of Julius III., his surety so long as it lasteth. He must do displeasure to as many as he may, so his friend Julius be thereby pleased. The wound is yet green, and not so felt as perhaps it will be when time and trouble shall lay open the multitude and greatness of these men's miseries. Men and women are at this present so astounded at the whole of their misery that they have no leisure to peruse the parts thereof. There be few shops but some men or women be seen weeping in them; few streets but there be men in plumps, that look as they had rather do worse than suffer their present thralldom. On Friday last there were about a hundred women at the Emperor's gates, howling, and asking in their outcries where they should christen their children, or whether their children not christened should be taken as heathen dogs. They would have gone to the Emperor's house, but our Catholic Spaniards kept them out, reviling them. The papist churches have for all this no more customers than they had—not ten of the townsmen in some of their greatest synagogues. The churches are locked up; the people sit weeping at home, and do say they will beg among Protestants, rather than live in wealth where they must be papists. Babes new born lie unchristened; they will have no Latin christening.*

The German troops mutinied; they were

* Morryson and Wotton to the Council: *MS. Cypher*, September 1, State Paper Office.

'almost all went to go to the Protestant service, and talked madly of the banishment of their preachers.*' Fresh companies of Spaniards were brought into the town, and the Germans marched beyond the walls.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
August.

Having lighted the match with his own hands, the Emperor set out for Innspruck, leaving Maurice behind him to follow out his own plans at his leisure. The Italian quarrel had expanded, and war with France was now openly declared. The Turkish fleet, as in the old times of Francis, came down into the Mediterranean as the allies of France; a Turkish army again threatened Hungary; and in the same spirit and in the same policy the French court concluded a secret league with the Protestant princes. Maurice undertook to keep Charles in play with fair words till the moment came to strike, and, with the spring, the French troops were to enter Germany.

And Charles departs for Innspruck.

Maurice forms a secret alliance with France.

Over the thin crust of the mine which was to burst under their feet the Council of Trent recommenced their sessions on the 1st of September. The Italian and Spanish bishops were duly in their places; the German Catholics were reported as on the way; the Diet had undertaken for the appearance of the Lutherans; the French bishops had not come, and nothing was known of them. France was the point to which the eyes of the fathers were most anxiously turning. If France was true to the Church, her differences with the Emperor could be soon composed, and all

Sept. 1.
The sessions of the Council of Trent recommence.

* Morryson and Wotton to the Council: *MS. Cypher*, September 1, State Paper Office.

CH. 28. would be well. But France, if the eldest child of the Church, was also the prodigal child, forgetful of her duties to her parent. Instead of bishops, there came a letter from the King, addressed to the assembly—not as *concilium*, a holy council with authority; but as *conventus*, a convention of mere human individuals. With many doubts they turned the covering over before they would acknowledge their-reverent despatch with reading it.* When the seal was broken they found professions of the utmost devotion to the Church, but a regret that the Gallican prelates would not be able to attend.

A.D. 1551.
September.
The French
bishops are
not per-
mitted to
attend.

Maurice
demands
that the
Lutheran
divines
shall have
votes in the
council,

The terms on which the Lutherans were to be admitted were still unsettled. To the Pope, Charles had promised that they should appear as criminals. To Maurice he had said ambiguously that the council should be free. On this point Maurice made his first open move. He now demanded that the Protestant theologians should speak and vote with the Catholic bishops, and that the Scriptures should be the one single rule of the controversy.† Further, although Charles had promised the Protestants that their persons should be in no danger, the burning of Huss by the

* The Spanish bishops were for refusing altogether. As a middle course, the French ambassador was invited to request as a favour that the letter might be received; but the ambassador, with the utmost politeness, said, that he had no commission. At last a learned prelate suggested that, if they refused a letter which

was addressed to them as a convention, they could not decently receive communications from the Germans, who called them *concilium malignantium*; and on the whole, therefore, it was decided to read.—PALLAVICINO.

† Mont to the Council: *MS. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office. Compare SLEIDAN.

Council of Constance showed that Catholic prelates held ordinary engagements lightly when they had a chance of destroying a heretic. Maurice had a copy taken, therefore, of the safe-conduct extorted by Huss's followers from the Synod of Bâle, and he forwarded a duplicate for the signature of the fathers at Trent.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
October.
And that the Fathers at Trent shall also countersign their safe-conduct.

The first step was followed instantly by a second. Unpermitted by the Emperor, he made terms with Magdeburg, conceding, under a show of fair words, every point for which the city was contending; and the garrison immediately took service in Maurice's own army.* Next, having so far thrown off the mask, he sent a formal demand for the liberation of the Landgrave of Hesse; the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the King of Denmark, Albert of Brandenburg, and Ferdinand of Austria, attaching their signatures to the petition.

The siege of Magdeburg is raised.

November.
And the Lutheran princes petition for the liberation of the Landgrave.

The Emperor still affected to be blind to Maurice's attitude. It was his policy to avoid seeing what, if forced upon him, he would be obliged to resent, and, resenting, was for the moment unable to punish. About the Landgrave he answered vaguely neither yes nor no. On this and other matters he could speak best,

* The terms of submission were not generally made known, but the truth was felt before it was acknowledged. A letter from Hamburg to the English council, on the 4th of November, says: 'The city of Magdeburg hath taken good success in this treaty.

They have a joyful peace. Duke Maurice is their defender, and hath taken all the soldiers of the city and camp to serve him.'—John Brigantine to the Council: *MS. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office.

CH. 28. he said, in person, and he desired that Maurice would follow him to Innspruck: meantime, the ambassadors of the Lutheran states—among them Sleidan the historian—presented themselves at Trent to request the safe-conduct for the divines, and to settle the terms on which these divines were to be present. The differences between the intentions of one party and the expectations of the other became at once apparent. The ambassadors gave in a series of propositions on which their representatives expected to be heard. The papal legates wondered at the indecency of a desire to argue where the only fit course was submission. The safe-conduct was drawn and signed; but it was altered from the Bohemian pattern, and the ambassadors would not receive it. The Archbishop of Toledo, who was acting for the Emperor, endeavoured to persuade them; but he could only prevail upon them to refer to Maurice, and Maurice ordered them to stand to their demands, and not to yield an inch. Fearful of provoking the Emperor, the fathers consented to grant the ambassadors a private audience, in which the Lutheran views could be generally stated.* The ambassador of Wurtemberg required a reconstitution of the council; the Pope, he said, was a party to the suit, and was no fit judge in his own cause. The ambassador of Saxe insisted most on the safe-conduct, with an express allusion to Constance and the declaration of the bishops there that faith need not be kept

A.D. 1551.
November.
The Lutheran ambassadors appear at Trent.

The different views of the two parties are not likely to accommodate themselves.

* SLEIDAN.

with heretics.* The so-called heretics, he said, further, must be admitted to vote; the past resolutions of the council must be reconsidered where they were at variance with the Confession of Augsburg. Finally, he desired to know what was to be said of the other resolution of the Council of Constance, that a council was above a Pope. This last question, says Pallavicino, drove the fathers at once among the reefs and breakers, of which Clement VII. long before had warned the Emperor.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
November.
The fathers consent to hear the Lutheran demands informally.
The council is in danger of shipwreck.

Thus the time wore away till March, when the match had burnt to the powder. Maurice moved on Augsburg, which opened its gates to him. A French army appeared on the Rhine, and Protestant Germany was once more openly in arms.

Panic-stricken a second time, the bishops at Trent melted like the snow before the returning sun. Maurice, after restoring the expelled preachers, summoned a Diet to meet at Passau in July; and while the French took possession of Verdun and Metz, he himself, with the Duke of Mecklenburg, made his way by rapid marches into the Tyrol. Charles had invited him to Innsbruck, and to Innsbruck he would go. The mountain passes were fortified, but the hatred of the Tyrolese for the Spaniards was so intense, that

The French enter Burgundy.
The council dissolves,
And Maurice marches on Innsbruck.

* Pallavicino exclaims angrily that the bishops at Constance declared nothing of the kind. They ruled only that safe-conducts granted by temporal princes did not bind ecclesiastical judges. The modern Romanist will, perhaps, decline all defence of a council which he regards as half heretical.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1552.

April.

they offered their services as guides, and betrayed the defences. The detachments which had been set to guard them were cut in pieces; and so swift were the movements of the German army, that the first intimation which Charles received that they had left Augsburg, was the sound of their guns but a few miles distant. It was said that a mutiny among the Lanzknechts delayed the last advance of Maurice, or the Emperor would have been a prisoner. It was said, also, that Maurice was unwilling to burden himself with so considerable a captive; 'he had no cage large enough for such a bird.' But Charles, to save himself, had to fly through a midnight storm. He himself weak with gout, in a litter, his court with such comforts as they could carry on their backs and no more, made their way in the darkness through the mountain valleys and across the swollen streams to the Venetian frontier. Maurice did not follow. He gave his troops the plunder of the Imperial palace; for himself, it was enough to know that he had broken the spell which threatened Germany with slavery.

May 20.
The Emperor flies.
The palace at Innspruck is plundered.

July.
The Protestant liberties are assured at the peace of Passau.

In July he dictated the terms of the pacification of Passau; and the Emperor, at war with France, with the Turks in the Mediterranean, and the council for which he had so long laboured scattered to all the winds, gave up the battle with the Reformation. The Landgrave and John Frederick were set free. The Confession of Augsburg was again acknowledged. The Imperial chamber was reorganized as the Protestants had so long demanded. These points, few but

vital, satisfied the moderate desires of the Lutheran princes; and making up his mind to leave them thenceforward unmolested in their freedom, Charles directed his remaining strength upon France.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1552.
July.

Broken as he was, England was now finally safe from the Emperor. In his present weakness, whatever party were dominant in England, Puritan, Anglican, or Papist, Charles V. would equally be compelled to recognise them, so long as he had France upon his hands; he would not only have to treat with them with courtesy, but be glad to accept their support. The opportunity was inviting. It tempted the Duke of Northumberland into dreams which, so long as Charles was powerful, he would not have dared to contemplate.

The decline of the power of Charles tempts Northumberland to tamper with the succession to the English crown.

But, before I pass to the last phase of the Protestant administration, I must say something of the fortunes which during all this time had befallen Ireland. The men who had run so strange a course at home, had produced results no less astonishing in the sister country.

State of Ireland.

The Celtic and Celto-Norman chiefs, with whom anarchy was chronic and peace the least endurable of calamities, had for the last five years of the reign of Henry VIII., under the mild rule of Sir Anthony St. Leger, remained in comparative quiet. The isolation of England in the midst of enemies, the French invasion in 1545, the internecine war with the Scots, had given them excellent opportunities for insurrection. But the temptation left them unaffected. Companies of

CH. 28. gallowglass served in Henry's camp at Boulogne, and even in Leinster and Connaught there was a longer respite from murder and pillage than those provinces had experienced since the conquest.

Sir Anthony St. Leger, favoured by circumstances, governs Ireland prosperously in the concluding years of the reign of Henry VIII.

Some part of his success St. Leger owed to himself, but he owed more to fortune. The reins were placed in his hands when, after a series of defeats, the Irish lords had gone to London, and had seen for the first time in their lives the wealth and resources of the country against which they had struggled; when they had been rewarded with peerages for the trouble which they had occasioned, and had been permitted to appropriate, on easy terms, the estates of the Irish monasteries.

The spoliation for a time compromised their orthodoxy, and committed them to English interests. It was not till Henry was gone that Ireland resumed her natural appearance. The policy of St. Leger had been 'to make things quiet;*' to overlook small offences so long as the general order was unbroken, and to be contented if each year the forms of law could be pushed something deeper beyond the borders of the Pale. His greatest success had been in prevailing upon an O'Toole to accept the decent dignity of Sheriff of Wicklow. As a further merit, and a great one, he had governed economically. While the home exchequer was so

* Edward Walsh to the Duke of Northumberland: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

heavily strained, the Deputy of Ireland had made but few applications for money—conciliation was cheaper than force, and he had been happy in having to deal with a set of circumstances which enabled him to conciliate. His maxim had been—Ireland for the Irish; he had recommended Henry to return to the old plan of appointing an Irish deputy, and he had especially recommended the Earl of Ormond.* He had naturally not pleased every one. The all-censorious Chancellor Allen had occasionally found something to condemn, and even with Ormond the deputy had not always been on terms; but so long as Henry lived, good management and good fortune combined on the whole in his favour, and his term of government was creditable and happy.

But the reform gusts which were borne across St. George's Channel on the accession of the child king, swept the strings of the Irish harp, and woke the old music. 'If the Lords of the Council,' sighed a later deputy, 'had letten all things alone in the order King Henry left them, and meddled not to alter religion, the hurley-burleys had not happened.'† But the Protector's mission to regenerate the world, the pillaged cathedrals, the emptied niches, and the whitewashed church walls, rapidly stirred the jealousies of a passionate and susceptible people, and gave the chiefs, who by this time had made themselves secure in their new

CH. 28.

But the religious reforms introduced by Edward's council kindle the old fires.

* Correspondence of St. Leger: *State Papers*, vol. iii.

† Sir James Crofts to the Council: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

CH. 28. properties, an opportunity for the display of their remaining devotion.

St. Leger is recalled, and is succeeded by Sir Edward Bellingham.

St. Leger, the pilot of the calm, was unequal to the hurricane which instantly arose. He was recalled, and his place was taken by Sir Edward Bellingham.

The tourist who has visited Athlone may remember, on the edge of the town, a half-ruined castle, on which the letters E. R. [Edwardus Rex] stand out in high and distinct relief. It is one of the few surviving memorials of the brief administration of a remarkable man.

Edward Bellingham, brought up originally by the Duke of Norfolk, attracted, in 1540, the notice of Henry VIII., and was employed by him from that time forward in various secondary services. He was in Hungary with Sir Thomas Seymour when the Turks were at Pesth. He had been on a diplomatic mission at Brussels. He was in Wallop's army at Landrecy, and afterwards with the Earl of Surrey at Boulogne. His most distinguished achievement hitherto had been when, as Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight, he repulsed the attacks of the French in 1545.

Bellingham finds Ireland ripe for a general insurrection.

When he arrived at Dublin the English Pale was fringed with a line of fire. The Irish harbours swarmed with pirates. Catholic refugees, disrobed monks, thieves, outlaws, vagabonds, had poured across the Channel, and, under the decent cloak of sufferers for religion, were dispersed among the castles of the Irish. French and Scottish agents had followed, with plans for a French invasion, for the restoration of Gerald

Fitzgerald, for the fortification of the Skerries, CH. 28.
 and the maintenance there in permanence of a A.D. 1548.
 French fleet.*

* *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vols. i. and ii. State Paper Office.

Among other French emissaries came John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, accompanied by young James Melville, then a boy of fourteen. The editor of Melville's manuscript misprinted the date of the visit, representing it as having taken place in 1545; the real date is 1547-8. Melville represents Edward as being on the English throne, and the bishop's arrival is spoken of in the State Correspondence. In spite of scandal, I must borrow a page from the story.

'John de Monluc, Bishop of Orleans, was sent ambassador from France to the queen-mother of Scotland, sister of the Duke of Guise; and when the said ambassador was to return to France, it pleased the queen-mother to send me with him. But the said bishop went first to Ireland, commanded thereto by the king his master's letter, to know more particularly the motion and likelihood of the offer made by O'Neil, O'Donnell, O'Dochart, and O'Carroll, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the King of France. We shipped for Ireland in the month of January. We were storm stred by the way at a little isle for seventeen days; and after great danger of the ship and our lives, we entered Loch Foyle in Ireland, upon Shrove Tuesday. Ere we landed we sent one George Paris, who

had been sent to Scotland by the great O'Neil and his associates, who landed at the house of a gentleman who had married O'Dochart's daughter, dwelling at the side of a lake; who came to our ship and welcomed us, and conveyed us to his house, where we rested that night. The next morning O'Dochart came and conveyed us to his house, which was a great dark tower, where we had cold cheer, as herring and biscuit, for it was Lent. There finding two English grey friars who had fled out of England, the said friars perceiving the bishop to look very kindly to O'Dochart's daughter, who fled from him continually, they brought with them a woman who spoke English to be with him; which harlot being kept quietly in his chamber, found a little glass within a case standing in a window, for the coffers were all wet with the sea waves that fell into the ship during the storm. She, believing it had been ordained to be eaten because it had an odoriferous smell, therefore she licked it clean out, which put the bishop in such a rage, that he cried out for impatience, discovering his harlotry and his choler in such a sort as the friars fled and the woman followed. But the Irishmen and his own servants did laugh at the matter; for it was a vial of the most precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Solyman, the Great Turk, had given in a present to the said

CH. 28.

A.D. 1548.
Without
violence,
but by
resolution
to be
obeyed, he
subdues the
disorders,

To repress the insurgents who were in the field, to prevent the spread of conspiracy, to maintain the authority of the government, Bellingham had no more than 900 English men-at-arms, and 500 light Irish horse; and it is enough to say for him, that with this small force he accomplished his task. The State Paper Office contains many of his letters, notes, and loose memoranda. The handwriting and the spelling are alike frightful; but the meaning, when at last arrived at, conveys an impression of resolute strength, unequalled in any other despatches of the time; and the respect becomes intelligible with which his name was ever mentioned even by the Irish themselves.

Makes
roads,
builds
forts,

For two years he governed. In that time he cut roads through forests, and made bogs passable. Castles rose as if by magic in the dangerous districts. The harbours were cleared, the outlaws banished, the chiefs not driven by cruelty, but drawn with a hand which they could not resist, into peace. O'Connor and O'More, two of the

bishop after he had been two years ambassador for the King of France in Turkey, and was esteemed worth 2000 crowns. In the time that we remained at O'Dochart's house, his young daughter, who fled from the bishop, came and sought me wherever I was, and brought a priest with her who could speak English; and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me wherever I pleased. I gave her thanks, but told her I was but young, and had no estate, and was bound for France.

'Now the ambassador met in a secret part with O'Neil and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the Patriarch of Ireland did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at Rome by post. He did great honour to the ambassador, and conveyed him to see St. Patrick's purgatory, which is like an old coal-pit which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole,' &c.—*Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, p. 15.

most troublesome, were caught, tried for treason, and their lands taken from them. But when Bellingham had made them feel that he was stronger than they, he restored O'Connor to liberty and his estates. The laws which interfered with the marriages of English and Irish, and forbade the inheritance of half-breeds, were relaxed or abolished; while mere robbery, as distinct from political conspiracy, was inexorably punished. A party of high-born marauders, who had committed an outrage in the Pale, took refuge in Thomond. O'Brien applied for their pardon, and O'Brien was one of the strongest of the Irish nobles.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1548.

And improves the laws.

Bellingham answered him thus:

'Your assured friend warns you, if you list so to take it. Of this one thing I will assure you, that those that will most entice you to take other men's causes in hand, will be the first that shall leave you if ye have need. As heretofore I have declared unto you, whatsoever he be that shall, with manifest invasion, enter, burn, and destroy the king's people, I will no more suffer it than to have my heart torn out of my body. When the king's subjects commit such offences, they are traitors and rebels, and so I will take them and use them. My Lord, this privilege I challenge, on the king my master's duty, that what of gentleness I require touching the king's affairs, it be taken and weighed as a commandment.'*

Illustrations of Bellingham's method.

He advised that the offenders should be sent in

* Bellingham to O'Brien: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

CH. 28. upon the instant, and to advice so given it was prudent to submit.

A.D. 1548.

Lord Ormond had died, leaving his heir a minor in England. St. Leger, or some one about the council who took the Irish view of things, thought the presence of a chief of a clan indispensable for their good behaviour, and sent him over. Bellingham protested. It would have been better, he said, to have kept him where he was, and brought him up with English habits. 'Authority, it was thought, would not take place without him. I pray God,' continued Bellingham, 'rather these eyes of mine should be shut up than it should be proved true; or that during the time of my deputation I should not make a horse-boy sent from me to do as much as any should do that brought not good authority with him, how great soever they were in the land. I will not say it shall be the first day; but in small time, God willing, it shall be done with ease.'*

There were few arrests; no hangings, except of thieves or murderers, no forays or terrible examples—only the resolutely expressed will of a man who intended to be obeyed, and whom men found it wiser to obey than to provoke. 'There was never deputy in the realm,' wrote an Irish gentleman to the Protector, 'that went the right way as he doth, both for the setting forth of God's word and his honour, and the honour of the King's Majesty to his Grace's commodity and the weal of his subjects.'† One special point was noted of

* *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol i. State Paper Office.

† Richard Brasier to the Protector: *Irish MSS.* Ibid.

him: a friend of Cecil's, reporting afterwards on the state of the country, said—'For the short time Mr. Bellingham had the charge here he did exceeding much good, as all men report. He was a perfect good justicer, and departed hence with clean hands.'^{*} With clean hands—the one man in public employment of whom perhaps such words could be used. His successes, so far as they can be seen, were chiefly due to the woodman, the roadmaker, and the mason. His universal system was to make the country passable, to build stout fortresses, and to place in them garrisons on whom he could depend; and, this done, everything was done. The castle at Athlone overawed the line of the Shannon; Sir Andrew Brereton was set down at Lecale with a colony of settlers within view of the Earl of Tyrone; another stronghold was built in Roscommon, another at Cork; soldiers of Bellingham's own metal were placed in command, and that was enough.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1548.
He gives justice, and does not sell it.

The Irish Council, unused to the presence of such a man, were troubled with him, especially as he went his own way, careless of traditions, and not always respectful to objectors. Chancellor Allen, who had seen other deputies fall into misfortune through neglect of his advice, failed to understand that, while he had a right to guide those who were less wise than himself, his business was to obey Sir Edward Bellingham; still less

The Irish Council can find no fault with him,

^{*} Wood to Cecil: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

CH. 28. could Allen comprehend why Sir Edward, when he obtruded his opinion, should 'vilipend him.'

A.D. 1548.

Except that he will not allow them to interfere with the good which he is determined to do.

'My Lord Deputy,' he said, 'is the best man of war that ever I saw in Ireland, having since his coming hither done more service to the king than was done—after the repressing of the Geraldines—in all the king's father's lifetime, notwithstanding all his charges.' 'Nevertheless,' the Chancellor complained, 'it is as well to have no council. He doth all himself. They be but a shadow, as a corpse without life or spirit. He doth all himself, and no man dare say the contrary, except sometimes little I, and that seldom. Nay, he saith at times that the king hath not so great an enemy in Ireland as the council is; and if they were hanged, it were a good turn. Sometimes, when he committeth a man in anger to ward, he will say, 'Content thyself, for I do no worse to thee than I will do to the best of the council if he displease me.' '*

Yet Allen had a true eye for merit; he had seen others in Bellingham's place filling their own coffers—making parties among the Irish, and lending themselves to the worst vices of the country. But Bellingham was pure. The chancellor admitted that he could see but one fault in him—that he sought 'to rule alone.'†

In the change of religion—since a change there was to be—the deputy proceeded with the same firmness; and although wilder task was never

* Allen to the Council in London: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

† Ibid.

imposed on any man than the introduction of Protestantism with a high hand among the Irish, even here he was not wholly unsuccessful. Fitzwilliam, a priest of St. Patrick's, and a personal friend of the deputy, said mass there after it was prohibited. 'Mr. Fitzwilliam,' he wrote, 'where I am informed that you have gone about to infringe the King's Majesty's injunctions, being moved of charity, I require you to omit so to do, and by authority I command you, as a thing that may not be suffered, you incite nor stir no such schism amongst the king's faithful and Christian subjects; for, if you do, as by likelihood you are incited to do it, thinking, through friendship, it shall be overpassed in your behalf, trust me, as they say commonly, it shall not go with you.'* Sir Edward was obeyed, being a man to whom disobedience was difficult; only it seems he gave no encouragement to the preachers. It was enough if the literal injunctions of the home government were observed, without consigning the pulpits to voluble rhetoricians who turned their congregations into swarms of exasperated hornets.†

CH. 28.
A.D. 1548.

He makes
no difference be-
tween
friends and
enemies.
All alike
shall obey
the law.

He does not
encourage
preaching.

* Allen to the Council in London: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

† St. Leger, at the end of 1549, informed the council 'that there had been but one sermon made in the country for three years, and that by the Bishop of Meath.'—*MS.* Ibid. That one experiment was enough to deter Bellingham from encouraging a second. The bishop, after the

first venture had been made, wrote a piteous account of the prospects of Protestantism, and of his own prospects, if he persisted.

'After most hearty commendation, in like manner I thank you for your letter, and where by the same ye wished me to be defended from ill tongues—*res est potius optabilis quam speranda.* Ye have not heard such rumours as is here all the country over

CH. 28.

A.D. 1548.
Good government
produces
good effects
in Ireland,
as elsewhere.

Thus, after he had been in Ireland a year and a half, Walter Cowley, the Clerk of the Crown, was able to congratulate Bellingham on having doubled 'the king's possessions, power, obedience, and subjects in the realm, in respect as it was at his arrival.' 'The king having a force in each quarter of the country, will they or nill they,' Cowley

against me, as my friends doth shew me. One gentlewoman, unto whom I did christen a man child which beareth my name, came in great council to a friend of mine, desiring how she might find means to change her child's name. And he asked her why? and she said, because I would not have him bear the name of an heretic. A gentleman dwelling nigh unto me forbade his wife, which would have sent her child to be confirmed by me, so to do, saying, his child should not be confirmed by him that denied the sacrament of the altar. A friend of mine rehearsing at the market that I would preach the next Sunday, divers answered they would not come thereat, lest they should learn to be heretics. One of the lawyers declared to a multitude that it was great pity that I was not burned, for if I preached heresy, so was I worthy therefore; and if I preached right, yet was I worthy, for that I kept the truth from knowledge. This gentleman loveth no sudden meat, nor can skill but only of roasting. One of our judges said to myself that, it should be proved in my face that I preached against learning. A beneficed man of mine own promotion

came unto me weeping, and desired that he might declare his mind unto me without my displeasure. I said, I was well content. My Lord, said he, before ye went last to Dublin, ye were the best beloved man in your diocese that ever came into it, and now ye are the worst beloved that ever came here. I asked wherefore. Why, said he, for ye have taken open part with the heretics, and preached against the sacrament of the altar, and deny saints, and will make us worse than Jews. If the county wist how, they would eat you. He besought me to take heed of myself, for he feared more than he durst tell me. He said, Ye have mo curses than ye have hairs in your head; and I advise you, for Christ's sake, not to preach as I hear ye will do. Hereby ye may perceive what case I am in, but put all to God. And now, as mine especial friend, and a man to whom my heart beareth earnest affection, I beseech you give me your advice, not writing your name for chance.—The Bishop of Meath to Sir Edward Bellingham: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

said, 'the people must obey;' and if only 'they CH. 28.
 could now be also put from idleness,' 'if they could A.D. 1548.
 be compelled to inhabit and fall to husbandry, to
 put away their assemblies in harness, and take
 delight in wealth and quiet, Ireland in a little
 time would be as obedient and quiet as Wales.'

Unhappily for Ireland, perhaps fortunately for Bellingham
dies.
 his own reputation, Sir Edward Bellingham, in
 the height of his success, was called away, it
 would seem by illness. In the summer of 1549 1549.
 his name disappears from among the State Papers.
 In the autumn he was dead. The effect was
 immediate. The chiefs felt the rein drop loose
 upon their necks; French agents were again
 busy; and in the interregnum which followed,
 the Irish Council found themselves less able to
 do without their master than their master had
 been able to dispense with them. Allen having The Irish
chiefs again
conspire.
 with great difficulty induced the Earl of Des-
 mond to come to him, learnt that the country
 was in full relapse into disorder. 'The rough
 handling of the late deputy,' so Desmond said,
 had placed the chiefs 'in despair' of being
 able to continue their old habits. The natural
 hatred to the dominion of an alien race, the peril
 of religion, the promises of assistance from France
 and Scotland, with the opportunity created by
 the disorders in England, had led to a general
 combination through the whole island.*

* 'I asked the earl what | commenced. Whereunto he said
 should be the cause of so great | the same conspiracy was con-
 a combination of the wild Irish, | cluded amongst them above a
 and how long since the same had | year past, only in the dread of

CH. 28.

A. D.
1549-50.
January.
The Eng-
lish soldiers
fall into
disorder.

A French
invasion is
promised,
and looked
for.

Peace with
France
postpones
the danger.

August.
St. Leger
returns to
Ireland.
Ireland is
to become
a source of
revenue to
England,
and no
longer an
expense.

The garrisons in the castles fell into loose habits when the master's eye was off them. Their wages had fallen into arrear, and they became mutinous and profligate. There was 'neither service nor communion within any of the walls, and as many women, it was said, as there were men.*' Even such of the Irish as professed to be loyal began to be 'haughty and strange.' A 'huge army' of French was expected to land in the spring of 1550; and, unless the home government could make peace with France, their rule in Ireland was once more likely to be near its end. But the peace, as has been related, was made. The intrigues ceased, the Irish had no longer hopes from abroad, and Bellingham had done his work so effectually, that without help they durst not stir.

In August, St. Leger, the peace-maker, was restored to his place, and a new chapter in the administration of the country was about to commence. Ireland had long been a drain upon the English finances. The stream was now to flow the other way, and, with an enchanter's wand waving over the mint, it was to

the late deputy, which, with his rough handling of them, put them in such despair as they all conspired to join against him. To some others of council which I heard not he added the matter of religion. But, for my part, beside these causes, I judge they will the rather take the opportunity to execute their malice, hearing not only of the continuance of the outward wars

and loss of our forts, and specially of the late civil displeasures in England, but also hope and comfort and aid of the Scots, promised, as it is said, by the blind bishop that came from Scotland out of Rome.'—Sir John Allen to his brother; January, 1550: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. ii. State Paper Office.

* St. Leger to the Council, September, 1550: *MS.* Ibid.

become an abundant fountain of revenue. The Irish standard had been always lower than the English. When the English silver was eleven ounces fine to one of alloy, the Irish had been eight ounces fine to four of alloy. The mines in Wicklow and Arklow having been brought again into working in the late reign, Henry VIII. had hoped that with the silver raised out of them, and with a mint upon the spot, the Irish government might at least pay their own expenses. But the plan had not yet come into operation; the Irish money had latterly been coined in England; and in the depreciation in the last three years of the reign, the Irish standard had followed the English, the harpgroats, like the latest issues in England, being half pure and half alloy.* On the conclusion of the peace with France, the experiment was to be tried on a grander scale.

CH. 28.
A.D. 1550.

By a resolution of the English council, on the 8th of July, 1550, it was determined that a mint should be forthwith established in Ireland, and that it should be let out to farm for twelve months on the following conditions:—

July 8.
Resolution
of council
to establish
a mint in
Ireland;

1. That the king should be at no manner of charge, great or small.
2. That the king should have thirteen shillings and fourpence clear out of every pound weight that should be coined.
3. That the bullion to be coined should be provided from other countries, and not from England or Ireland.

* *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 534.

CH. 28.

A.D. 1550.

August.

From
which the
king shall
receive
24,000*l.* a
year.

4. That by this means the sum of 24,000*l.* at the least should be advanced to the King's Majesty within twelve months.

5. That the king should appoint a master of assays and a controller.*

An indenture was drawn, on the 9th of August, between the council and Martin Perry, granting to Perry the management of the establishment on these terms; the money to be made was to be four ounces fine with eight of alloy. The pound weight of silver, if coined at a pure standard, yielded forty-eight shillings; with two-thirds of alloy, therefore, it would produce one hundred and forty-four;† and if the king was to make twenty-four thousand pounds by receiving thirteen shillings and fourpence on every seven pounds four shillings that were issued, three hundred thousand pounds' worth of base coin would be let out over the Irish people in a single year.

Sir Edward Bellingham had shown the Irish one aspect of English administration. The home government were preparing to show them another. The seed was sown, the harvest would be certain, and not distant. It would not, how-

St. Leger's
second
administra-
tion is not
successful.

ever, be gathered in by Sir Anthony St. Leger, whose footing in the now swollen waters was

* *Privy Council Register*, MS.

† See RUDING, vol. ii. p. 105. Ruding, describing the indenture and the proportions of alloy, says that the pound weight was to be made into a hundred and forty-four *groats*; in which state-

ment, it seems, he must have mistaken the word. The pound weight of pure silver would produce a hundred and forty-four pure *groats*; but the two pounds of alloy, which he admits were added to it, must have produced twice as many more.

almost instantly lost. The Lords of the Council, CH. 28.
more anxious for the purity of the gospel than A.D. 1550.
of the currency, charged St. Leger especially to August.
keep pace with the movements in England.
Vainly he protested that 'he would sooner be
sent to Spain.' They told him that he must go
to Ireland, there to follow his vocation of making
rough things smooth.

He went, and proceeded at once to follow his
old course of attempting to rule the Irish by
pleasing them. Among his first acts he
permitted high mass to be said at Christ's
Church, in Dublin, and was himself present at
the service.* 'To make a face of conformity he
put out proclamations' for the use of the Prayer-
book; but the Prayer-book was not used, and the
disobedience was not noticed. The Archbishop
of Dublin expostulated. St. Leger put him off
with a 'Go to, go to, your matters of religion
will mar all;' and placed in his hands 'a little
book to read,' which he found 'so poisoned as he
had never seen to maintain the mass,' with tran-
substantiation and other naughtiness.†

He per-
mits the
mass to be
used, and
is himself
present at
it.

He gives
the Arch-
bishop of
Dublin a
little book
with poison
in it.

Bellingham's captains, too, troubled the new
deputy with acting out their old instructions.
Sir Andrew Brereton, one of the best of them,
had been a thorn in the side of the Earl of
Tyrone. No Bishop of Monluc, or other doubt-

Belling-
ham's sol-
diers refuse
to truckle
to the
Irish.

* Sir Anthony, upon his ar-
rival, went to the chief church
of this nation, and there, after
the old sort, offered to the altar
of stone, to the great comfort of
his too many like papists and

the discouragement of the pro-
fessors of the gospel.—The Arch-
bishop of Dublin to the English
Council: *Irish MSS.* Edward
VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office.
† Ibid.

CH. 28. ful ecclesiastic, could land in Ulster but what
 A.D. 1550. Brereton had his eye on him; no French emissary
 September. could leave Tyrone's castle but what Brereton
 would attempt to waylay him and relieve him
 of his despatches; and he had succeeded in in-
 tercepting one letter in which the earl invited
 a French invasion,* and undertook especially to
 betray Brereton and destroy the Lecale colony.†

The Earl of
 Tyrone at-
 tempts to
 expel Sir
 Andrew
 Brereton
 from
 Lecale.

When the expectations from France came to
 nothing, the earl, unable to endure longer so
 insulting a surveillance, laid a claim to Brere-
 ton's lands, and sent a troop of kernes to drive
 his cattle. The English commander, waiting
 till they had commenced work, set upon them,
 and cut half of them to pieces, two brothers of
 Tyrone being among the slain.

St. Leger's system could not prosper with a
 Brereton in command of troops. The Irish
 lords, who appreciated the merits of a deputy
 who allowed them their own way, waited on
 him at Dublin with congratulations on his ap-
 pointment; and Tyrone took the opportunity of
 pressing his complaints. Brereton being called
 on for explanations, drew out a statement of the
 earl's misdoings. He came to Dublin, and being

* 'Tyrone desired the French king to come with his power, and if he would so prepare to do, to help him to drive out the Jewish Englishmen out of Ireland, who were such as did nothing to the country but cumber the same and live upon the flesh that was in it, neither observing fast-days nor regarding the

solemn devotion of the blessed mass or other ceremony of the church. The French king should find him, the earl, ready to help him with his men and all the friends he could make.'—Com-plaints of Sir Andrew Brereton: *Irish MSS.* vol. iii. State Paper Office.

† Ibid.

told before the Irish Council that he was accused by Tyrone of murder, 'he said he would make answer to no traitor, threw his book upon the board, and desired that the same might be openly read.' The council—they shall relate their own behaviour—'considering the same earl to be a frail man, and not yet all of the perfectest subject, and thinking, should he know the talk of the same Mr. Brereton, having of his friends and servants standing by—for it was in the open council-house—it might be a means to cause him and others of his sort and small knowledge to revolt from their duties and refuse to come to councils'—recommended moderation. It was better to answer Tyrone's complaint meekly. 'Such handling of wild men had done much harm in Ireland.' 'They would read the book, and do therein as should stand with their duties.'

CH. 28.

A. D. 1550.
September.
Brereton
accuses
Tyrone of
treason,

Which St.
Leger con-
siders in-
discreet,
Tyrone
being a
wild man ;

Presently the earl, foaming with indignation, appeared in person. He 'took the name of traitor very unkindly,' and demanded justice; and the end of it was that Brereton was reprimanded and deprived of his rank; the council apologized for his indiscretion; and a young St. Leger of more convenient humour was sent to govern the northern colony.*

And there-
fore recalls
Brereton.

The humouring an Irish chief at the expense of an honest man might have been forgiven; but St. Leger was less successful than before in keeping down the expenditure, and the

St. Leger
also impor-
tunes the
home
council for
money.

* The Deputy and Council to Cecil: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. ii. State Paper Office.

CH. 28. home government, trusting to the supplies from the mint, sent no remittances. His applications for money were in consequence vexatiously frequent. 'Religion' did not prosper with him; and the reviving uncertainty of the relations between England and France, in the winter of 1550-51 made the presence of a stronger hand desirable. Lord Cobham was first thought of as a fit person. On second thoughts, however, it was determined not immediately to supersede St. Leger. Sir James Crofts was sent over with troops and ships under his separate command, and brought instructions to survey the southern harbours, and, wherever possible, to fortify them. Crofts arrived in March, 1551. In April he went, as he was directed, into Munster, and with him went a certain John Wood, who sent an account of the journey to Sir William Cecil, with maps and plans.

Sir James Crofts is sent to survey the south coast of Ireland.

Description of the state of the country.

'In this voyage,' said Wood, 'I have seen, amongst others, two goodly havens at Cork and Kinsale, as by the plots thereof shall presently appear unto you, and also a large and fruitful country of itself; but the most thereof uninhabited, and the land wasted by evil dissensions, that it is pity to behold: which disorder hath continued of a long time by want of justice, insomuch that the most part of the gentlemen, yea, I might say all, be thieves or maintainers of thieves, which thing themselves will not let to confess, as I have presently heard; and have no other way to excuse their faults but that lack of justice forceth them to keep such people as may resist their neigh-

bours, and revenge wrong with wrong, without which they are not able to live. Thus the poor be continually overrun, bereft of their lives, and spoiled of their goods; and no marvel, for neither is God's law nor the king's known nor obeyed. The father is at war with the son, the son with the father, brother with brother, and so forth. Wedlock is not had in any price; whoredom is counted as no offence; and so throughout the realm in effect vice hath the upper hand, and virtue is nothing at all regarded. The noblemen—at the least sundry of them—hang or pardon at their pleasure, whether it be upon a privilege granted unto them, or upon an usurped power, I know not; but, undoubtedly, it is needful to be reformed. There is no cause why these people should be out of order more than others. They have shape and understanding, and are meet to be framed to as good purpose as any other the king's subjects, if the like order were taken and executed as in England and other commonwealths.*

CH. 28.
A.D. 1551.
April.

Such was Ireland in 1551. But English order was not for the moment likely to improve it. In the early summer St. Leger was finally recalled. Sir James Crofts was appointed his successor, and entered office when the industry of Martin Perry was about to produce its fruits.

St. Leger
is recalled,
and Crofts
is ap-
pointed
deputy.

In July the rise of prices commenced. Crofts, surrounded by theorists, who assured him that the remedy for this and all other inconveni-

* Wood to Cecil: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. ii.

CH. 28. ences was abundance of money, at first was simply perplexed. By November the truth was so far breaking upon him, that he protested against a continuance of the debasement, and entreated that the standard might be restored. The mischief had only commenced; yet even then he represented that the soldiers could no longer live upon their wages. The countrymen so suspected the money, that they would not take it upon any terms. The fortifications in the south were at a stand-still; the workmen demanded to be paid in silver, not in silvered brass. 'The town of Dublin and the whole English army would be destroyed for want of victuals if a remedy were not provided.'*

A.D. 1551.
Nov. 1.
The fruits
of the Irish
mint.

The deputy
remon-
strates.

The remedy would be to cry down the money to its true value, as had been done at home, and to issue no more of it—the last thing which the home government intended. The Irish mint was to indemnify them for the loss of the sluices which they had been forced to close in England. They replied to Crofts' remonstrances, therefore, with a letter of advice.

The council
desires him
to attend
instead to
the Chris-
tian reli-
gion,

'The beginnings of all things in which we are to prosper,' wrote Northumberland or one of his satellites, 'must have their foundation upon God; and, therefore, principally, the Christian religion must as far forth as may, be planted and restored, the favourers and promoters thereof esteemed and cherished, and the hinderers dismayed.' This was the first point to which Crofts was

* Crofts to the English Council, November 1, 1551: *Irish MSS.* vol. iii.

to attend. Next he was to see that the laws of the realm should be better obeyed; and especially that 'the king's revenue' should be more diligently looked to, his rents be properly collected, his woods and forests attended to, and the accounts of his bailiffs duly audited. The money was a secondary question; the reformation of the coin was impossible, and the calling down objectionable. The deputy might consult the principal people in the country about it; and in the meantime there were the jewels and plate in the churches. He might take those; and if he could not pay the soldiers, he might send them away.*

CH. 28.

A.D. 1551.
November.
And to the
collection
of the
revenue.

Sir James Crofts was well inclined to the Reformation, and under Mary almost lost his life for it. Yet, to answer the clamours of defrauded tradesmen and labourers, and soldiers too justly mutinous, with a text or a homily, was a task for which he had no disposition. He was 'a man not learned,' he replied; and they had divines for such purposes.† 'The matter of the currency, in his simple opinion, was so apparent, it needed not to be consulted upon;' as a proof of which he stated that to keep the army from starving, he had been driven, as the council at home had been driven, to purveying. 'We have forced the people for the time,' he said, 'to take seven shillings for that measure of corn which they sell for a mark, and twelve shillings for the beef which they sell for fifty-three shillings and fourpence. These things

Crofts considers that honesty must precede religion.

* The English Council to Sir James Crofts: *Irish MSS.* vol. iii.

† Crofts to Cecil: *Irish MSS.* Ibid.

CH. 28. cannot be borne without grudge, neither is it possible it should continue.'

A.D. 1552.
January.

In obedience to his orders, however, the deputy invited representatives of the industrious classes in Ireland to Dublin, to discuss the first principles of commercial economy.

A council
of trade is
held at
Dublin.

'I sent,' he reported after the meeting, 'for inhabitants of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Drogheda, to know the causes of the dearth of corn and cattle, and how the same might be remedied. I declared unto them how the merchants were content to sell iron, salt, coal, and other necessities, if they might buy wine and corn as they were wont to do. And thereof grew a confusion in argument, that when the merchant should need for his house not past two or three bushels of corn, he could not upon so small an exchange live; and likewise the farmer that should have need of salt, shoes, cloth, iron, hops, and such others, could not make so many divisions of his grain, neither should he at all times need that which the merchants of necessity must sell. So it was that money must serve for the common exchange.'

A discussion upon
the currency leads
to a confusion of
argument.

But why, the question then rose, must money be only of gold and silver? why not of leather or of brass? Was it for the 'sovereign virtue' of the precious metals? was it for their cleanliness in handling? Plain only it was that when the coin was pure, all men sought for it; when it was corrupt, all men detested it. It might have been thought 'that, when the king's stamp was on the coin, it should be received of every man as it was

proclaimed.' But experience showed that it was not so; and experience showed further, that good and bad money, though stamped alike, could not exist together; the bad consumed the good. One of the party then observed keenly, 'that among merchants, when cloth, silk, and other wares are sold, the owners do set on their marks, and upon proof made of the goodness of the wares and the making, with the true weight and measure, it cometh to pass that after such credit won there needeth no more but shew the mark, and sell with the best; and if the makers of such wares do after make them worse, their trade is lost, insomuch as if after they would reform the same fault, it will ask time before credit be won again.'

CH. 28.
A. D. 1551.
December.
But the
deputy ad-
heres to ex-
perience.

The stamp
on the
ware should
be a secu-
rity for the
goodness
of it.

The government was the merchant, the coin was the ware, the king's head was the mark. Prices had risen with bad money. Whether it was better that money should be scarce or plenty the meeting would not venture to say, only it must be pure. 'By the whole consent of the world gold and silver had gotten the estimation above other metals as meetest to make money of, and that estimation could not be altered by one little corner of the world, though it had risen but upon a fantastical opinion, when indeed it was grounded upon reason, according to the gifts that nature had wrought in those metals.'

The meeting concluded, therefore, that if the currency could not be honestly restored, they preferred the least of two evils, and desired that

And the
meeting
entreats
that the

CH. 28. it should be immediately called down to its market valuation.*

A.D. 1550.
March.
bad coin
may be
called
down;
but the
council in
England
prefer their
own convenience to
Irish
misery.
Prices rise
fivefold.

The opinion of the country had been taken, as the English council recommended, and the result was before them; but either it was conveyed in too abstract a language, or the mint had not yet yielded the full sum which they intended to take from it. They waited for an increase of suffering, and prices continued to rise and rise.

‘The measure of corn that was wont to be at two or three shillings,’ and when Crofts landed in March, 1551, was ‘at six shillings and eightpence,’ was sold in March, 1552, for ‘thirty shillings.’ ‘A cow that had been worth six shillings and eightpence sold for forty shillings; six herrings for a groat; a cow-hide for ten or twelve shillings; a tonne of Gascon wine for twelve pounds, of Spanish wine for twenty-four pounds.’† The Irish beyond the Pale suffered the least. ‘Every lord caused his people to keep their victuals within the country,’ and the Irishman proper had little use for money—‘he cared only for his belly, and that not delicately.’‡ In Dublin, Meath, and Kildare schools were shut up; servants were turned away, from the cost of maintaining them; artisans and tradesmen would take no more apprentices: at last the markets were

Households
are broken
up: the
markets
closed.

* Memoranda of the Irish Council.—Sir James Crofts to the Duke of Northumberland, December, 1551: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office.

† Before the depreciation of the currency in England Gascon wine was sold for 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a tun; Spanish wine for 7*l.* 8*s.*—34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. 7.

‡ Crofts to Cecil: *Irish MSS.* vol. iv.

closed. Those who before had bought little at high prices could now buy nothing at any price; and fever followed in the rear of famine. 'All sorts of people,' Crofts passionately expostulated, 'cry for redress at my hands.' The actual cause of their misery they did not know; 'and no marvel,' 'when the wisest were blinded;' but they understood that it came from England and from English rule; 'and now,' Crofts said, 'they do collect all the enormities that have grown in so many years, so that there is among them such hatred, such disquietures of mind, such wretchedness upon the poor men and artificers, that all the crafts must decay, and towns turn to ruin, and all things either be in common, or each live by others' spoil; and thereof must needs follow slaughter, famine, and all kinds of misery.'*

CH. 28.
A.D. 1552.
March.
The people
die of fa-
mine and
fever.

Crofts cries
out against
the ini-
quity.

The people had been tried far, yet still it was not enough. The reply which the home government now vouchsafed was a cargo of German Protestants, whom they sent over to work the silver mines in Wicklow; when a sufficient mass of bullion had been raised, they said, the complaints of the Irish might be considered. The Germans, the distracted deputy reported in return, were idle vagabonds, not worth their keep; the currency would run foul till the day of judgment if he was to wait till it was purified through labour of theirs; and then the council said that they were sorry, and would hope and would see about things, but the king's government must be

The council
sends him a
colony of
German
Protestants
to bring
silver out of
the mines;

But the
Protestants
will not
work, and
at length
the council
give way.

* Crofts to Cecil, March 14: *Irish MSS.* vol. iv.

CH. 28. carried on, and money they had none. But the
 A.D. 1552. wail of the injured people rose at last in tones too
 June. piteous to be neglected; and in June, Northum-
 berland made up his mind that he could persist
 no longer.

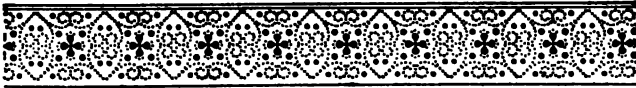
Three thousand pounds weight of bullion were sent from the Tower to Dublin, with orders to Perry to call down the coin, buy it in at the reduced valuation, and make a new issue at the old standard;* while, to turn the current of Irish feeling, the council passed a resolution to restore Gerald Fitzgerald, the hero of Celtic romance, to his estates and country.

* Such I endeavour in charity to believe to be the meaning of a vaguely-expressed entry in the *Privy Council Register*. Edward, however, in his *Journal*, with the date of June 10, 1552, says—

‘Whereas it was agreed that there should be a pay now made to Ireland of 5000*l.*, and then the money to be cried down; it was appointed that 3000 lbs. weight which I had in the Tower should be carried thither and

coined at 3 denar fine, and that incontinent, the coin should be cried down.’ The question rises what Edward meant by 3 denar fine. Was it threepence in the shilling, or 3 oz. fine to 9 oz. of alloy? or was it threepence in the groat? a coin more honest than Ireland had seen for a century. Experience of the general proceedings of the government in such matters would lead one to choose the worst interpretation.





CHAPTER XXIX.

NORTHUMBERLAND'S CONSPIRACY.

A MIDST the wreck of ancient institutions, the misery of the people, and the moral and social anarchy by which the nation was disintegrated, thoughtful persons in England could not fail by this time to be asking themselves what they had gained by the Reformation.

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.

A national reformation, if the name is more than a mockery, implies the transfer of power, power spiritual, power political, from the ignoble to the noble, from the incapable to the capable, from the ignorant to the wise. It implies a recovered perception in all classes, from highest to lowest, of the infinite excellence of right, the infinite hatefulness of wrong.

The movement commenced by Henry VIII., judged by its present results, had brought the country at last into the hands of mere adventurers. The people had exchanged a superstition which in its grossest abuses prescribed some shadow of respect for obedience, for a superstition which merged obedience in speculative

The moral results of the Reformation are so far not satisfactory,

CH. 29. belief; and under that baneful influence, not
 A.D. 1552. only the higher virtues of self-sacrifice, but the
 commonest duties of probity and morality, were
 disappearing. Private life was infected with
 impurity to which the licentiousness of the
 Catholic clergy appeared like innocence. The
 government was corrupt, the courts of law were
 venal. The trading classes cared only to grow
 rich. The multitude were mutinous from op-
 pression. Among the good who remained un-
 infected, the best were still to be found on the
 Reforming side. Lever, Latimer, Ridley, Cran-
 mer, held on unflinching to their convictions,
 although with hearts aching and intellects per-
 plexed; but their influence was slight and their
 numbers small; and Protestants who were worthy
 of the name which they bore were fewer far, in
 these their days of prosperity, than when the
 bishops were hunting them out for the stake.
 And the The better order of commonplace men, who
 people in- had a conscience, but no especial depth of in-
 cline to- sight—who had small sense of spiritual things,
 wards re- but a strong perception of human rascality—
 action. looked on in a stern and growing indignation,
 and, judging the tree by its fruits, waited their
 opportunity for reaction.

‘Alas, poor child,’ said a Hampshire gentle-
 man, of Edward, ‘unknown it is to him what
 acts are made now-a-days; when he comes of age
 he will see another rule and hang up an hundred
 heretic knaves.’ John Bale replied to ‘the
 frantic papist’ with interested indignation; he
 wrote a pamphlet with a dedication to North-

umberland, whom he compared to Moses,* and earned a bishopric for his reward.† But the words expressed a deep and general feeling; and, had the coming of age taken place, might not impossibly have proved true. Edward showed no symptoms of wavering in religion; but he was gaining an insight beyond his years into the diseases of the realm, which threatened danger to those who had abused his childhood. He had followed and noted down the successive tamperings with the currency. He was aware of his debts, and of the scandal of them; and we have seen him seeking political information without the knowledge of the council. He understood the necessity of economizing the expenditure, of scrutinizing the administration of the revenues, and of punishing fraud.‡ He could actively interfere but little, but the little was in the right direction. The excessive table-allowances for the household were reduced. Irregular claims for fees, which had grown up in the minority, were disallowed; the wardrobe charges were cut down; the garrisons of the forts and the Irish army were diminished, according to a

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.
Hopes are
formed that
Edward,
when he
comes of
age, will
reform the
Reformers.

Edward
begins to
practise
economy,

* 'Considering in your noble Grace the same mighty, fervent, and religious zeal in God's cause which I have diligently marked in Moses, the servant of God.'—STEYNE, vol. iv. p. 39.

† Ossory in Ireland.

‡ See especially a remarkable Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses, printed by Burnet, and a draft of provisions which Edward intended for insertion in

his will.—STEYNE, vol. iv. p. 120. If Edward really wrote or dictated these two papers, the 'Miracle of Nature' was no exaggerated description of him. I am bound to add, however, that his *Essays and Exercises*, a volume of which remains in MS. in the British Museum, show nothing beyond the ordinary ability of a clever boy.

CH. 29. schedule which Edward himself had the reputation of devising.* Further, he began to inquire into the daily transactions of the council. He required notice beforehand of the business with which the council was to be occupied, and an account was given in to him each Saturday of the proceedings of the week: while in a rough draft of his will which he dictated to Sir William Petre in the year which preceded his death, he showed the silent thought with which he had marked the events of his boyhood. Should his successor, like himself, be a minor, his executors, unlike his father's, should meddle with no wars unless the country was invaded. They should alter no part of 'religion;' they should observe his 'device' for the payment of his debts, and use all means for their early settlement; and there should be no return of extravagance in the household.† More remarkable is an imperfect fragment on the condition of England.

A.D. 1552.
And to
make notes
on affairs of
State.

He draws
out a
sketch of a
healthy
common-
wealth,

Following, boylike, the Platonic analogy between the body of the individual and the body politic, Edward saw in all men the members of a common organization, where each was to work, and each ought to be contented with the moderate gratification of his own desires. The country required an order of gentlemen; but gentlemen should not have so much as they had in France, where the peasantry was of no value. In a well-ordered commonwealth no one should have more

* Device for the Payment of the King's Debts: STREYFE's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 594. Compare EDWARD's *Journal*, 1552.
† STREYFE, vol. iv. p. 120.

than the proportion of the general stock would bear. In the body no member had too much or too little; in the commonwealth every man should have enough for healthy support, not enough for indulgence. Again, as every member of the body was obliged 'to work and take pains,' so there should be no unit in the commonwealth which was not 'laboursome in his vocation.' 'The gentleman should do service in his country, the serving-man should wait diligently on his master, the artisan should work at his trade, the husbandman at his tillage, the merchant in passing the tempests;' the vagabond should be banished as 'the superfluous humour of the body,' 'the spittle and filth which is put out by the strength of nature.'

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.

Looking at England, however, as England was, the young king saw 'all things out of order.' 'Farming gentlemen and clerking knights, neglecting their duties as overseers of the people, 'were exercising the gain of living.' 'They would have their twenty miles square of their own land or of their own farms.' Artificers and clothiers no longer worked honestly; the necessities of life had risen in price, and the labourers had raised their wages, 'whereby to recompense the loss of things they bought.' The country swarmed with vagabonds; and those who broke the laws escaped punishment by bribery or through foolish pity. The lawyers, and even the judges, were corrupt. Peace and order were violated by religious dissensions and universal neglect of the law. Offices of trust were bought

And contrasts with it the condition of England.

Gentlemen, farmers, artificers, judges, lawyers, all out of order.

CH. 29. and sold; benefices impropriated, tillage-ground
 turned to pasture, 'not considering the sustain-
 ing of men.' The poor were robbed by the
 enclosures; and extravagance in dress and idle
 luxury of living were eating like ulcers into the
 State. These were the vices of the age; nor were
 they likely, as Edward thought, to yield in any
 way to the most correct formula of justification.
 The 'medicines to cure these sores' were to be
 looked for in good education, good laws, and 'just
 execution of the laws without respect of persons,
 in the example of rulers, the punishment of mis-
 doers, and the encouragement of the good.' Cor-
 rupt magistrates should be deposed, seeing that
 those who were themselves guilty would not
 enforce the laws against their own faults; and
 all gentlemen and noblemen should be compelled
 to reside on their estates, and fulfil the duties of
 their place.*

A.D. 1552.
 The poor
 are de-
 frauded.

A remedy
 is to be
 looked for
 in better
 education,
 and in the
 just execu-
 tion of the
 laws.

The best
 men were
 not em-
 ployed, or
 were ill-
 employed.

A king who at fifteen could sketch the work
 which was before him so distinctly, would in a few
 years have demanded a sharp account of the
 stewardship of the Duke of Northumberland. Un-
 fortunately for the country, those who would have
 assisted him in commencing his intended im-
 provements, Lord Derby, Lord Oxford, Lord
 Huntingdon, Lord Sussex, or Lord Paget, were
 far away in the country, sitting gloomily inactive
 till a change of times. Ridley was working man-
 fully, as we have seen, in restoring the London

* Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses: BURNET's *Collec-
 tanea*.

hospitals; but Cranmer, after the destruction of CH. 29.
 Somerset, shrunk from confronting Northumber-
 land; and, the Liturgy being completed, he was A.D. 1552.
 now spending his strength in the pursuit of ob-
 jects which were either unattainable or would
 have been mischievous if attained. In the spring
 of 1552 he was endeavouring to take away the re-
 proach of Protestantism by bringing the Reformed Cranmer
proposes a
Protestant
synod
without
effect.
 Churches to an agreement. Edward offered his
 kingdom as an asylum for a Protestant synod,
 which might meet at Oxford or Cambridge; and
 the archbishop wrote to Calvin and Melancthon,
 entreating their support. But oil and water
 would combine before Zuinglian and Lutheran
 would acquiesce in common formulas. Pro-
 testants, as Calvin assured him, hated each other
 far too heartily.* In another direction his ex-
 ertions were equally unprofitable; and he was
 acting here under Calvin's advice.

The interference of the church officials in the
 private concerns of the people had been among
 the chief provoking causes of the original revolt
 under Henry. The laity had flung off the yoke
 of the clergy. The ministers of the new order,
 mistaking the character of the change, imagined
 that the privileges and powers of the Catholic
 priesthood would be transferred to themselves.
 As teachers of 'the truth,' they were the ex-
 ponents, in their own eyes, of the divine law, and
 they demanded the right to punish sin by spiri-

* Correspondence between Cranmer, Calvin, and Melancthon:
Epistolæ Tigurinae.

CH. 29. tual censures—spiritual censures enforced by secular penalties.

A.D. 1553.
He desires
a restora-
tion of ec-
clesiastical
discipline;

Which the
peculiar
views of
clergymen
on the na-
ture of evil
make im-
possible.

Mankind, notwithstanding their frailties, are theoretically loyal to goodness; and, could there have been any security that the clergy would have confined their prosecutions to acts of immorality, their desire might perhaps have to some extent been indulged. But to the Church of Calvin, as well as to the Church of Rome, the darkest breach of the moral law was venial in comparison with errors of opinion; and the consequence which England had to expect from a restoration of clerical authority might be seen in the language of one who was loudest in the demand for it. John Knox, the shrewdest and one of the noblest of the Reformers, did not conceal his opinion that Gardiner, Bonner, and Cuthbert Tunstal might have been justly put to death for nonconformity.* But parliament had not refused absolutely to entertain the question. The Lords rejected, as we have seen, a scheme which would simply replace the bishops in the position which they had forfeited; but the old mixed commission of thirty-two had been re-

* 'God's justice,' says Knox, in his *Admonition to the Faithful in England*, 'is not wont to cut off wicked men till their iniquity is so manifest that their very flatterers cannot excuse it. If Stephen Gardiner, Cuthbert Tonstal, and butcherly Bonner, false bishops of Winchester, Durham, and London, had, for their false doctrines and traitor-

ous acts, suffered death when they justly deserved the same, then would papists have alleged that they were men reformable,' &c. In the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, which was drawn under Knox's influence, to say mass, or to hear it, was made a capital crime—under the authority of the text, 'The idolater shall die the death.'

established for the revision of the canon law; and in March, 1552, the commissioners would have made some progress, it was said, had not Ridley and Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, who had succeeded Lord Rich as Chancellor, 'stood in the way with their worldly policy.'* The thirty-two were afterwards reduced to eight, and in the following November a fresh commission was appointed, consisting of Cranmer, Goodrich, Coxe, and Peter Martyr, with four lawyers and civilians. The work was allowed to devolve on the archbishop, who, with the assistance of Foxe the Martyrologist, produced the still-born volume,† in which, as I have already mentioned, he claimed the continued privilege of sending obstinate heretics to the stake; and which remains to show to posterity the inability of the wisest of the clergy to comprehend their altered position. The king was already more clear-sighted than the Archbishop of Canterbury. He admitted the desirableness of discipline; 'so,' however, 'that those that should be executors of that discipline were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment.' 'But because,' he said, 'those bishops who should execute it, some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill names, some for all those causes, were men unable to execute discipline, it was, therefore, a thing unmeet for such men.'‡

CH. 29.
A.D. 1552.

The Reformatio Legum is drawn up, but falls stillborn.

* Micronius to Bullinger: *Epistolæ Tigurinae*.

† *The Reformatio Legum*.

‡ Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses: BURNET.

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.
The abuses
of the admin-
istration
continue
without
check.

Meanwhile, amidst discussions on the remedies of evils, the evils themselves for the most part continued. Discipline could not be restored. The king's abilities did not anticipate his majority; the revenues were still misapplied, the debts of the crown were still unpaid. Officials indeed in the interests of Northumberland were permitted to indemnify themselves for their services. Bishop Ponet, for instance, composed a catechism, which was ordered for general use, and was allowed a 'monopoly of the printing.* But ordinary persons, servants, artisans, tradesmen in public employment, 'fed upon the chameleon's dish,' and still cried in vain for their wages—it might be from prison.† Prices of pro-

* Northumberland to Cecil: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xv. State Paper Office.

† The state of the ordnance department was but a specimen of the state of all the departments. On the 3rd of August, 1552, the Master of the Ordinance wrote to Cecil:—

'These be to beseech you for God's sake, charity's sake, yea, at this my contemplation, to help the miseries that be in the office of the ordnance for lack of money, as it is high time, being daily sundry and many poor men crying and calling for the same, to my no little grief; amongst the which is one named Charles Wolmar, gunpowder maker, now in very pitiful case, who is presently in the Counter, for that the rent of the house he dwelleth in is unpaid for a year

and a half, which amounteth to 13 pounds and odd money, which cometh by reason there hath been no money paid in this office a long time. The King's Majesty is charged with the rent thereof, being put there by the king's appointment, both for the making of gunpowder, when there is money to set him a work, and also to look to certain things of his Highness's there under his charge. I heartily pray you, seeing that the said poor man, as is great pity, is nevertheless troubled for this the King's Majesty's care, to move my Lords of the Council in that behalf. Sir, I pray you that I may have an answer hereof.' — *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiv. State Paper Office.

visions would not abate. Vainly the Duke of Northumberland reprimanded the Lord Mayor in the Guildhall—vainly butchers' carts were seized, and the meat was forfeited—vainly the dealers were threatened with the loss of their freedom and expulsion from the towns and cities;*—the distrust and hatred of the administration were too strong for menace.

The churches, the lead having been torn from the roofs, crumbled into ruins. Parishes were still left without incumbents, or still provided with curates who were incapable or useless. 'A thousand pulpits in England were covered with dust.' In some, four sermons had not been heard since the Preaching Friars were suppressed. 'If,' said Bernard Gilpin before the court, 'if such a monster as Darvel Gatheren, the idol of Wales, could have set his hand to a bill to let the patron take the greater part of the profits, he might have had a benefice.'† In October, 1552, there was a menace of rebellion.‡ In December, the government was threatened with some further unknown but imminent danger, which called out from Northumberland the most seeming admirable sentiments, which he knew so well how to affect, and could, perhaps, persuade himself that he felt.§ In March, so general was the disaffec-

CH. 29.
A.D. 1552.
Prices do
not fall.

The Church
services are
still neg-
lected.

The coun-
try is dis-
contented,
and North-
umberland
moralizes.

* STREYFE'S *Memorials*.

† Ibid.

‡ Northumberland to Cecil: *MS. Domestic*, vol. xiv. Edward VI. State Paper Office.

§ He may have the benefit of his words so far as it will ex-

tend. He 'instantly and earnestly required the Lords of the Council to be vigilant for the preventing of these treasons so far as in them was possible to be foreseen;' 'that thereby,' he said, 'we may to our master

CH. 29. tion, that martial law was proclaimed in many parts of the country.*

A.D. 1552.

Sir Thomas Gresham and the money-lenders again.

The periodic sore of bankruptcy was again running. The revenue still clung to the hands by which it was collected. Fines, confiscations, church plate, church lands, mint plunder, vanished like fairy gold. The languid efforts of the council to extricate themselves availed only to show how hopeless was their embarrassment. In August, 1552, a bill fell due in Antwerp for 56,000*l*. Sir Thomas Gresham had been in the Low Countries in July; and as there was no money to meet the bill, he brought back with him a proposal for a further postponement on the usual terms; with a condition to which also the home

and the world discharge ourselves like honest men, which, if we do not, having the warning that we have which cometh more of the goodness of God than of our search or care, the shame, the blame, the dishonour, the lack and reproach should, and may justly, be laid upon us to the world's end. The old saying which ever among wise men hath been holden for true, seemeth by our proceedings to be had either in derision or in small memory, being comprehended in these words—*mora trahit periculum*—beseeching your Lordships, for the love of God and the love which we ought to have to our master and country, let us be careful, as becometh men of honour, truth, and honesty to be. For we be called in the time of trial and trouble; and

therefore let us shew ourselves to be as we ought to be; that is, to be ready, not only to spend our goods, but our lands and lives, for our master and our country, and to despise the flattering of ourselves with heaping riches upon riches, house upon house, building upon building, and all through the infection of *singulare commodum*. And let us not only ourselves beware and fly from it as the greatest pestilence in the commonwealth, let us also be of that fortitude and courage that we be not blinded and abused by those that be infected with these infirmities.'—Northumberland to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xv. State Paper Office.

* STYFFE'S *Memorials*.

government was accustomed, that certain wares, CH. 29.
fustians and diamonds, should be purchased of A.D. 1552.
the lenders. Such transactions, however disguised, could have but one meaning: the bankers sold their jewels at their own prices; the English government had to dispose of them for such prices as they would fetch in the market.

Northumberland was absent on the Scottish The council attempt to break their chain,
Border, and the council, freed from his authority, refused to submit to the imposition. They instructed Gresham to return to Antwerp and to say that the king would pay as soon as he could, but the times were troublesome, and he had other employment for his money: the bankers must be reasonable, and wait.

The trader sympathized with his order. Gresham pledged his own credit for payment, and he wrote earnestly to Northumberland through whom bargains of this kind could be best conducted, to save the country from shame. It was 'neither honourable nor profitable,' he said, to put off money-lenders with a high hand. The credit of England would 'fall as low as the credit of the Emperor,' who was at that moment 'offering 16 per cent. for money, and could not obtain it.' 'The king's father, who first began to take up money upon interest, did use to take his fee penny in jewels, copper, gunpowder, or fustian, and wares had been taken ever since, when the king had made any prolongation.' So long as the loans could not be repaid the system must be continued. Thus much, however, Gresham un-

Which Gresham insists that they must wear.

CH. 29. dertook to do. Lead was fetching a high price in Antwerp. If the export of lead from England was forbidden, the price would rise still higher, while at home it would fall. The government might take possession of the trade and make its own profits; while he would himself remain on the Continent, and would watch the exchanges, and if he could be supplied with 1200*l.* a week he would clear the crown of its foreign debts in two years.*

A.D. 1552.
He advises
Northum-
berland to
monopolize
the lead
trade, with
the help of
which he
will pay the
crown
debts.

With the
assistance
of the City
of London
the debts
are par-
tially paid.

Northumberland listened to the advice upon the lead trade. He stopped the exports, and in two months learnt to his sorrow that 'princes' affairs in the government of realms and merchants' trades were of two natures.'† The City of London extricated the crown from its embarrassments by an advance of 40,000*l.* The bills were renewed, but only with a slight increase. In August the entire debts at Antwerp were

* Gresham to Northumberland: STYKE's *Memorials*, vol. iv.

† 'I pray you, and most heartily require you, to have in remembrance the restraint lately taken for the stay of lead through the realm, that it may be substantially considered; for I put you out of doubt the clamour and exclamation grow great, and may breed more dangers than can now be seen. I have, since my being in the council chamber, heard of that matter, which maketh me sorry that ever it was my hap to be a meddler in it; but shall teach me to beware

of the wayne of a dry spring while I live: for princes' affairs specially touching the government of realms and merchants' trades are of two natures; therefore, though they be full of devices with appearance of profit, yet must they be weighted with other consequences; as in this case as much requisite as any matter that was in use a great while, for such reasons as this day were rehearsed, as knoweth the Lord.'—Northumberland to Cecil, November, 1552: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiv. State Paper Office.

108,000*l.* On the 3rd of October, after the re-
newal, they were something under 111,000*l.*; CH. 29.
A.D. 1552.
while the home debts 'certainly known to be due'
were, on the same 3rd of October, 125,000*l.**
The loan from the City of London partially
satisfied the foreign creditors, partially it was
applied for the payment of wages, and other
obligations at home. The home debts by No-
vember were reduced to 109,000*l.*† At last, there-
fore, there was an attempt to do something,
though the something was but small.

But these petty difficulties were not absolutely
the results of carelessness and fraud. In this
autumn of 1552, England narrowly escaped being
again drawn into the European whirlpool.

The Peace of Passau left Charles at war with
France; and by the revised treaty of 1543, as has
been often said, England was bound to assist the
Emperor if the Low Countries or the Rhine
provinces were invaded. A French army had
entered Luxembourg in July; and Charles, whose
misfortunes had rendered him less scrupulous in
connecting himself with heretics, applied through
his ambassador for the stipulated support. The
abandonment of Henry VIII. in the late war
might have exonerated Edward from compliance.
The treaty had been renewed since the Peace of
Crépy; but Charles had left England, notwith-
standing, to work its way out of its difficulties

The French
invading
the Rhine
provinces,
Charles V.
applies to
England for
assistance.

* Note in Cecil's hand: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiv.
State Paper Office.

† Second Note in Cecil's hand: *Ibid.*

CH. 29. alone;* in the place of sending help, he had himself assumed an attitude of hostility. But
 A.D. 1552. either Northumberland was uncertain of his
 September. prospects and projects at home, and desired to conciliate the Emperor and Mary, or he was doubtful of the intentions of France, or he was possessed by the traditionary belief that the safety of England depended on the maintenance of the balance of power. The Emperor, without money and without friends, was contending with difficulty against an alliance between the Turks and the French. Ugly misunderstandings had sprung up between the courts of London and Paris. The French had avenged their supposed wrongs in the usual way, by seizing English merchant ships; and Charles's request for assistance came at the moment when the council were besieged with the complaints of the owners.† From the uncertain conduct of the council, it would seem

Differences
 having
 arisen be-
 tween Eng-
 land and
 France,

* Chancellor Granvelle's defence of the Peace of Cr py was probably unknown in England, or it would have spared the council all difficulty. 'De dire,' he wrote to the Emperor, 'que le Roy d'Angleterre par la dicte paix pourra se malcontenter et pretender que votre Majest  a contrevenu   trait —il y a, Sire, une maxime en mati res d'estat comme en toutes choses, qu'il faut regarder plus   la r alit  des choses que se traitent, en y conjoignant ce qu'est possible et faysable, selon Dieu et raison, que de advanturer et hazarder pour crainte du scrupules non fondez.'—Granvelle

to Charles V.: *Papiers d'Etat*, vol. iii. p. 27.

† 'It is an old saying that we should not laugh at our neighbour when his house is on fire. I do every day hear more and more of the cruel dealings of the French against the subjects and merchants of this realm in such lamentable sort that a number almost is ready to be desperate; wherein the honour of the prince, his council, and realm is vehemently touched.'—Northumberland to Cecil, September, 1552: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiv. State Paper Office.

that either there were conflicting opinions which balanced each other, or that one and all were perplexed and irresolute. The ambassador was first answered evasively. He was next told that the demand should be taken into consideration. Then suddenly, on the 2nd of September, the council made up their minds definitively to declare war against France.* But the resolution was taken only to be abandoned immediately, and the ambassador was informed that the king could not, in his present embarrassments, hold himself bound by his father's treaties. Again in a few days the scale wavered. Sir Thomas Stukley, a west-country gentleman, and a dependent of Somerset, had escaped abroad on the arrest of his master, and now returned with a story by which he hoped to purchase his pardon. Being believed to be a disaffected subject, he had been admitted, as he said, into the French counsels, and he was able to affirm as a certainty that Calais was about to be attacked. The King

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.
September.
Northum-
berland
thinks of
complying.

He hesi-
tates; but
a report is
brought
from Paris

* 'Which things considered, we have more regarded our faith in our religion, our old amity and alliance with our good brother the Emperor, and the antient natural friendship that hath, in all times and adversities, continued betwixt the two noble houses of England and Burgundy, than other worldly perils and lacks that might, in appearance of reason, move us to be quiet and sit still; and be content to declare the French king's countries and subjects common enemies to us and our good

brother the Emperor—no wise doubting but our said good brother will naturally, like a brother, consider this our well-tried constancy and natural love towards him. And herein you shall declare to our said good brother, that our desire is to have his advice for our best means of entry to this demonstration.'—Minute of Instructions to Sir R. Morryson, September 2, 1552: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 15, State Paper Office.

CH. 29. of France himself had spoken to him of the weak points in the defences, had pointed out the very plan of assault, by which, six years later, Calais was actually taken. Although, however, Henry said, 'he would in short space recover Calais, yet to adventure the same was in vain, otherwise than to seek the whole realm.' The Scots, therefore, were to enter Northumberland; he himself would land with troops at Falmouth, while the Duke of Guise would land at Dartmouth, which he knew to be undefended. That done, 'he intended to proclaim and restore the mass.' Stukley told him that 'he would be twice or thrice fought withal.' Henry said that 'he esteemed that but a peasant's fight;' at all events, he would fortify both Falmouth and Dartmouth, and hold them in gage for Calais.*

A.D. 1552.
September.
That the
French
intend to
invade
England.

The French were confident in themselves, in their fortunes, in the special gifts by which they held the stars.† Neither promises nor alliances would stand in their way when opportunity of aggrandizement should offer itself. If either France or the Empire became dominant in Europe, England would equally find an enemy in either; and if Stukley's story was true, the Empire must be supported.

Arguments
for and
against a
war with
France.

Again, therefore, the question of peace or war

* Stukley's Deposition: *MS. France*, Edward VI. bundle 10, State Paper Office.

† The Cardinal of Lorraine showed Sir William Pickering 'the precious ointment of St. Ampull, wherewith the King of

France was sacred, which he said was sent from Heaven above a thousand years ago, and since by miracle preserved; through whose virtue also the king held *les estoilles*.'—Pickering to the Council: *MS. Ibid.*

was anxiously discussed, and, according to the official habit of the time, the arguments on either side were drawn out in form. Should the king join the Emperor? it was asked. For the affirmative it was urged that he was bound by treaty. The Emperor might be ruined, or would lose Burgundy, and in that case England would lose Calais; the French were bringing the Turks into Christendom, and again some redress must be obtained for the English merchants; the attitude of France was suspicious and menacing, and 'enter into war alone the king might not well;' finally, the Emperor might make peace with France exasperated by desertion, and the Catholic powers might unite against England.* For the negative; the exchequer was empty: should the Emperor die, as was not unlikely, England would be left again to fight the battle alone. The German Protestants would be offended, and France, after all, might not have the intentions which were attributed to her. It might be pos-

CH. 29.

A.D. 1552.
September.

* While the preservation of the holy ointment assured France of the continued favour of Heaven, the French preachers informed their congregations, on analogous grounds, that England had been forsaken. 'No wonder,' said a Jacobin monk in a sermon at Angiers, 'that the King of England has broken faith with France, seeing that he had broken faith with God; disant qu'il estoit heretique et méchant, et que le peuple de France debvroit bien louer Dieu et luy rendre graces,

et que nostre roy avoit tourné sa robe et estoit ennemy des François. Depuys continuant sa méchante affection, il a dict en publique que nostre Roy d'Angleterre estoit infidèle, ce qu'il disoit estre notoire par ce que le don de faire miracles luy estoit ostée; disant que ses predecesseurs Roys d'Angleterre avoient de coutume de guerir du mal caduc, mais que ceste vertu luy avoit este ostée, et n'en guerissoit plus à cause de son infidélité.'—*MS. France*, Edward VI. bundle 10, State Paper Office.

CH. 29.

A. D. 1552.
September.
The council
attempt to
find a mid-
dle course.

sible so to help the Emperor as to induce the Protestant princes to unite also; to make the Turks the ground of quarrel, and to declare France an enemy of Christendom. A war on such terms would be inexpensive, and England would be strengthened by taking part in a general league. On the other hand, such a league could not be formed either rapidly or secretly; and if the attempt should be made, and fail, France would be inexpensively offended.

The ultimate resolution was to reply with a general assurance of sympathy; to offer active assistance against the Turks, and so to feel the way towards a larger combination. The Lutheran powers, having secured their own liberties, were known to be looking suspiciously on the French movements. If the Emperor would consent to act with them, England might then go further. Meantime she would recruit her finances, and prepare for all contingencies.*

Charles was unable to quarrel with so meagre an answer. He had deserved no better; nor could England afford more. He was at the moment on the Rhine, just recovering from a severe attack of gout, and collecting an army to wrest Metz from the Duke of Guise. Fortune at that time seemed again turning in his favour. The French invading force had been compelled to retreat out of Lorraine, decimated by fever, Guise himself remaining with a few picked

The campaigns of the summer had been slightly in the Emperor's favour.

* EDWARD'S *Journal*, September, 1552.—Discussion on the War with France, with the Instructions to Sir Richard Morryson: *Cotton. MSS. Galba*, 12.

troops. De Roulx, the Imperialist general in CH. 29.
Flanders, had carried fire and sword to the A.D. 1552.
banks of the Somme, and penetrated France to September.
within fifty miles of Paris, sacking houses, and
burning towns, villages, and farms. A com-
pany of English volunteers from the Calais Pale
had joined him in an attack, which all but suc-
ceeded, upon Ambletue; while Albert of Bran-
denburg, who had quarrelled with Maurice, and
was now in the Emperor's camp, had taken the
Duke of Aumale in a skirmish.

Accounts, by competent persons, of interviews
with Charles V. are always interesting. When
Sir Richard Morryson waited upon him with the Sir Richard
Morryson
waits upon
him with
the English
answer.
reply of the English government to his request
for assistance, 'the Emperor,' he said, 'was at a
bare table, without carpet or anything else upon
it, saving his cloke, his brush, his spectacles, and
his picktooth.' His lower lip had broken out
during his illness, and he kept 'a green leaf'
upon it, which, adding to his 'accustomed soft-
ness in speaking,' 'made his words hard to be
understood.' He listened to the message kindly,
but coldly, 'thinking, as Morryson might per-
ceive, to have heard somewhat of joining force
against another enemy of his' beside the Turk:
but he spoke warmly of England; he talked of
Henry VIII., and of the regard which they had
ever entertained for each other; and it seemed as
if he was speaking sincerely. 'But he hath a
face,' said Morryson, 'unwont to discover any
hid affection of his heart, as any face that ever I
met with in all my life. White colours, which,

CH. 29. in changing themselves, are wont in others to bring a man word how his errand is liked, have no place in his countenance. His eyes only do betray as much as can be picked out of him. He maketh me often think of Solomon's saying, Heaven is high, the earth is deep, a king's heart is unsearchable. There is in him almost nothing that speaks besides his tongue.*

A.D. 1552.
October.
Morryson's
opinion of
the Empe-
ror.

The French
disclaim
all sinister
intentions.

Northum-
berland
appoints
commis-
sions to
raise
money.

Meantime the French king assured Sir William Pickering that in Stukley's story there was no word of truth. He had never thought of attacking England since the conclusion of the peace, far less had he spoken of it. How these foreign difficulties might turn out was quite uncertain. Nevertheless, for domestic purposes or for war purposes, one thing was steadily necessary, *i.e.*, money. Northumberland, following the steps of his father, who filled the treasury of Henry VII., and brought his own head to the block, set himself to the work with heart and goodwill. In the autumn and winter of 1552-3, no less than nine commissions were appointed with this one object; four of which were to go again over the often-trodden ground, and glean the last spoils which could be gathered from the churches. In the business of plunder the rapacity of the crown officials had been distanced hitherto by private speculation. The halls of country-houses were hung with altar-cloths; tables and beds were quilted with copes; the knights and squires drank their claret out of

* Morryson to the Council: *TITLER*, vol. ii.

chalices, and watered their horses in marble CH. 29.
coffins. Pious clergy, gentlemen, or church-
wardens had in many places secreted plate, A.D. 1552.
images, or candlesticks, which force might bring November.
to light. Bells, rich in silver, still hung silent
in remote church-towers, or were buried in the
vaults. Organs still pealed through the aisles in
notes unsuited to a regenerate worship, and
damask napkins, rich robes, consecrated banners,
pious offerings of men of another faith, remained
in the chests in the vestries. All these were
valuable, and might be secured, and the Pro-
testants could be persuaded into applause at the
spoiling of the house of Baal. Ridley in London
lent his hand. On the 4th of September the
organ at St. Paul's was ordered into silence pre-
paratory to removal. On the 25th of October 'was
the plucking down of all the altars and chapels
in Paul's Church, with all the tombs, at the
commandment of the bishop, and all the goodly
stone-work that stood behind the high altar.*
The monument of John of Gaunt himself would
have gone down, had not the council stepped in to
save it. Vestments, copes, plate, even the coin
in the poor boxes, were taken from the churches
in the city.† Some few peals of bells were
spared for a time, but only under condition
of silence. A sweep as complete cleared the
parish churches throughout the country. There

The glean-
ing of the
grapes of
Sphraim.

St. Paul's
is stripped.

Vestments,
bells, and
other orna-
ments are
carried off
from the
parish
churches.

* *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

† It is to be said for Ridley that he begged and obtained the
linen surplices, &c., for the use of the hospitals.

CH. 29. was one special commission for bells, vestments, and ornaments; two for plate and jewels; a fourth to search private houses for church property, and, should any such be found, to make a further profit by the fine of the offenders. A commission, again, was to examine into the rents of the crown estates; another to sell chantry lands. The accounts of the disposition of all estates which had fallen to the crown by confiscation or act of Parliament since the suppression of the monasteries were to be produced and examined. The armorial bearings of families residing south of the Trent were to be investigated by the College of Heralds, and illegal quarterings to be paid for by fine or forfeit. Lastly, Northumberland himself, assisted by others on whose discretion he could rely, undertook to examine the accounts of the treasurer and receiver of the Court of Augmentations and the Court of Exchequer; of the collectors of firstfruits and of the officers of the Duchy of Lancaster; and, finally, in one frightful sweep, to call on every one who had received money in behalf of the crown since the year 1532 to produce his books and submit them to an audit. Paymasters, purveyors, victuallers, engineers, architects, every one to whom money had been paid from the treasury for the army and navy, for the household, or for any other purpose, was included under the same menace. If the account-books of twenty years of confusion, during the latter portion of which almost all public persons, from the council downwards, had vied with each other in the race of

A.D. 1552.
November.

The public accounts for twenty years are to be examined, and peculators punished.

rapacity, were not forthcoming and in order, they were to be proceeded against without mercy. CH. 29.

The sale of chantry lands was expected to yield 40,000*l.*; the lands of the suppressed bishopric of Worcester would produce 5000*l.* more; the church plate and linen, 20,000*l.*; the confiscated estates of the late fraudulent Master of the Rolls, and of Sir Thomas Arundel, who had been executed as an accomplice in Somerset's conspiracy, with a fine inflicted on Lord Paget for the same cause, were estimated at 25,000*l.*, 'or thereabouts'; from 90,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* might be expected from the remaining commissions,* could those commissions be enforced. But, setting aside the injustice of calling suddenly for the accounts of twenty years, when the disorders had been so universal and the example of the ruling powers so flagrantly bad, the conduct of Northumberland and Northumberland's friends could bear inspection as little as any man's. Another large sum of 40,000*l.* might be looked for from the sale of the estates of the see of Durham, which was about to be suppressed; but these estates Northumberland designed for himself, and obtained a grant of them: and as he now really intended to pay off the crown debts†—as, in fact, he was supplying, and intended to continue to supply, the 1200*l.* weekly for which Gresham had applied for that

A.D. 1552.
November.
The results
anticipated
from the
commis-
sions

Fall short,
for many
reasons, of
the expec-
tations
formed;

* Further Calculations of the King's Debts and of the Means of paying them: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiv.

† From a report presented in the first year of Queen Mary, it appeared that in the last year of Edward he cleared off 60,000*l.*

CH. 29. purpose, he was obliged to look to other resources. A parliament had become a necessity, unwelcome but inevitable. A parliament must meet. The blame of the public embarrassment could be cast upon Somerset; and in a letter to the council the duke explained the arguments on which he intended to apply for a subsidy.* As the subsidy, however, could not be collected till after the next harvest, the meeting, he at first thought, might be postponed till the following Michaelmas.†

A. D. 1552.
December.
And North-
umberland
resolves to
call a par-
liament.

1553.
January.
The writs
are issued,
and precau-
tions taken
to ensure a
favourable
House of
Commons.

Circumstances, however, or the influence of others, or the necessity of pacifying the people, forbade the delay. The writs were sent out in January, and as parliament would not grant

* 'There is none other remedy,' he said, 'to bring his Majesty out of the great debts wherein, for one great part, he was left by his Highness's father, and augmented by the wilful government of the late Duke of Somerset, who took upon him the Protectorship and government of his own authority. His Highness, by the prudence of his father, left in peace with all princes, suddenly, by that man's unskilful Protectorship, was plunged in wars, whereby his expenses were increased unto the point of six or seven score thousand pounds a year over and above the charges for the keeping of Boulogne. These things being now so onerous and weighty to the King's Majesty, and having all this while been put off by the best means we have been

able to devise, although but slender shifts, the same is grown to such an extremity, as without it speedily be holpen by your wise heads, both dishonour and peril may follow; and seeing there is none other honourable means to reduce these evils, I think there be no man that beareth his obedient duty to his sovereign lord and country but must conform himself to think this way [of a parliament] most honourable. The sale of lands ye have proved; the seeking of every man's doings in office ye mind to try; and yet you perceive all this cannot help to save the sore that hath been so long suffered to fester for lack of looking unto.' —Northumberland to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xv.

† Ibid.

money without inquiry, and inquiry could only be faced before interested or otherwise favourable judges, the best security was to fill the Lower House with men who could be depended upon. It has been maintained, or assumed, by some writers, that the election of members of parliament under the Tudor princes had but the form of freedom ; that the constituencies were treated with no more respect than if they had been deans and chapters of cathedrals, who, though permitted to pray to heaven to be guided in the selection of their bishop, must nevertheless receive that guidance through the nomination of the crown. The account of the election of 1552-3 will enable us to form a more discriminating judgment. Northumberland's House of Commons was, in fact, chosen, like the bishops, by a *congé d'élire*; it was a 'convention of notables,' such as Northumberland was pleased to direct to be elected ; but such a mode of election is expressly stated to have been introduced on this occasion, and if freshly introduced, did not exist before.* How the voting was conducted does not appear ; and it is plain that the constituencies possessed no recognised means of enforcing

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
January.Method in
which the
elections
were con-
ducted.

* On the 16th of August, 1553, Simon Renard, the Flemish ambassador, writing to Charles V. of the parliament about to be called by Mary, consulted him in Mary's name, si le dict parlement se doit faire general, ou y appellir particuliers et notables du pays par représenter le parlement selon que le Duc de Northumberland l'a introduict. — Despatches of Renard, copied from the Archives at Brussels: *MS. Rolls House*. Charles advised Mary to trust the people as completely as possible.

CH. 29. their own choice ; but it is plain, also, that the experiment of nomination was tried as the general rule of an election for the first time.

A.D. 1553.
January.

A nomination parliament, however, was on this occasion actually assembled. Either a circular *

* A first draft of the circular is in the British Museum: *Lansdowne MSS.* 3.

‘Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Forasmuch as we have, for divers good considerations, caused a summonition of a parliament to be made, as we doubt not ye understand the same, by our writs sent in that behalf to you, we have thought it meet, for the furtherance of such causes as are to be propounded in the said parliament for the commonweal of our realm, that in the election of such persons as shall be sent to our parliament, either from our counties as knights of the shire, or from our cities and boroughs, there be good regard had that the choice be made of men of gravity and knowledge in their own counties and towns, fit for their understanding and qualities to be in such a great council. And, therefore, since some part of the proceeding herein shall rest in you by virtue of your office, we do, for the great desire we have that this our parliament may be assembled with personages out of every county of wisdom and experience, at this present recommend two gentlemen of the same county, being well furnished with all good qualities, to be knights of that shire, that is to say, — and

—, to whom we would ye should signify this our meaning, to the intent they may prepare themselves to enter into this office, being for the weal of their country ; and likewise our pleasure is that ye shall, at or before the day of the election, communicate this our purpose to the gentlemen and such other our subjects of the same, being freeholders of that county, as shall seem requisite, so as they may both see our consideration and care for the weal of the same shire, and our good memory of those two personages whom we have named unto you.’

Transversely written on the same page, in the handwriting of Northumberland’s secretary, is a second form, more general.

‘I will and command you that ye shall give notice, as well to the freeholders of your county as to the citizens or burgesses of any city or borough which shall have any of our writs for the election of citizens or burgesses, that they shall choose and appoint, as nigh as they possibly may, men of knowledge and experience within their counties, cities, or boroughs, so as, by the assembly of such, we may, by God’s goodness, provide for the redress of the lacks in our commonwealth more effectually than hitherto hath been.

‘And yet, nevertheless, our

was addressed to the sheriffs of counties or mayors of towns, simply naming the persons who were to be chosen, or the electors were instructed to accept their directions from some member of the Privy Council. In some instances the orders of the crown were sent direct to the candidate himself,* and the language in which the communications were conveyed implied the most entire assurance on the part of the government that the disposition of the seats was under their control.

But for especial interference Northumberland's position especially called. The writs with the letters and circulars were sent out on the 19th of January. On the 14th, Northumberland held in his hands a document which avowedly caused him uneasiness. The threatened inquiry into the distribution of the Church lands under Henry VIII. had not, perhaps, been pursued; but 'a book' had been drawn, 'of the charges of the present king and of his debts,' to the

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
January.

Northumberland has particular occasion for uneasiness.

pleasure is, that when our Privy Council, or any of them, with their instructions in our behalf, shall recommend men of learning and wisdom, in such cases their directions be regarded and followed.'

* 'Ye shall understand that his Majesty is right desirous to have the parliament now coming to be assembled of the chiefest men of wisdom and good counsel, for the better consideration of things for the commonwealth of this realm; and, therefore, amongst divers others, hath

willed us to signify unto you this his pleasure, to have you one of the Commons House, which thing we also require you to foresee, that either for the county where ye abide ye be chosen knight, or else otherwise to have some place in the house like as all others of your degree be appointed. And herein, if either his Majesty or we knew where to recommend you, according to your own desires, we would not fail but provide the same.'—The Council to Sir P. Hoby, January 19: *Harleian MSS.* 523.

CH. 29. production of which, without considerable modifications, the duke felt that he could not consent.
 A.D. 1553.
 Jan. 14. This particular book I have been unable to discover; but it contained, among other things, an account of the various grants professing to have been made by Edward to his ministers, or, in truer language, appropriated by these ministers to their own use during Edward's reign. On the 14th of January the duke had the report in his hands; he sent it to the Marquis of Northampton, with side-notes and reflections, the occasion and meaning of which he expressed very frankly in a letter which has fortunately survived.

A report of the estates granted away by the crown during the minority.

Northumberland does not desire to account to the House of Commons for the king's liberality.

'The causes,' he said, 'why I have scribbled the book so much, is that I am of opinion that we need not to be so ceremonious as to imagine the objections of every froward person, but rather to burden their minds and hearts with the King's Majesty's extreme debts and necessities, grown and risen by such occasion and means as can be denied by no man; and that we need not to seem to make account to the Commons of his Majesty's liberality and bountifulness in augmenting of his nobles, or his benevolence shewed to any his good servants, but you might thereby make them wanton and give them occasion to take hold of your own arguments. But as it shall become no subject to argue the matter so far, so, if any should be so far out of reason, the matter will always answer itself with honour and reason to their confuting and shame.'*

Although the 'scribbled' document has dis-

* Northumberland to the Lord Chamberlain: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xvi.

appeared, the substance of it remains in a separate table of reports, which were submitted, eventually, to a subsequent parliament,* and it explains the duke's anxiety.

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
January.

The total value of the land which had passed from the crown, in the reign of Edward VI., by gift, sale, or exchange, had been something over a million and a half.† Four hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds had professedly been paid into the treasury as purchase-money. The lands exchanged were worth 350,000*l.* The value of the lands given away was 730,000*l.* Of these given lands, estates to the extent of 1200 a year, worth perhaps 25,000*l.*, went to endowments of schools and hospitals; 3600*l.* a year was reserved to the crown upon the rents of the rest; and 9000*l.* had been paid in money to the crown by the recipients of the royal bounty. On the exchanged land there was a reservation also of 1900*l.* a year.

The extent to which the Lords of the Council had profited by their opportunities.

After liberal deductions on these and all other imaginable grounds, after reasonable allowances for grants legitimately made as a reward for services, there will remain, on a computation most favourable to the council, estates worth half a million—in the modern currency about five millions—which the ministers of the Minority with their friends had appropriated—I suppose I must not say stolen—

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xix.

† The annual proceeds of the lands sold were 21,304*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; the money paid for them, 435,277*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* The average value, therefore, was a

fraction over twenty years' purchase. The annual proceeds of the lands given were 36,746*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, which, on the same calculation, would give something over 730,000*l.*

CH. 29. and divided among themselves. In the different lists the names of the council appear nowhere as purchasers. They exchanged occasionally, being nearest to the fountain, and having the privilege of the first draught: but, in general, when any minister of the crown is mentioned, it is as an object merely of unmixed liberality. The literal entries are an imperfect guide, since it appeared, in the inquiries which followed the deposition of Somerset from the Protectorate, that conveyances had been made out in other names, to cover the extent of the appropriations. From the report as it stands Lord Paget and Sir William Petre would seem to have made the smallest use of their opportunities; Lord Pembroke to have made the best.*

Parliament
meets. The
duke at-
tempts to
gain favour
in the City
of London.

With the danger of these revelations impending, Northumberland must have doubtless felt the meeting of parliament an anxious occasion, notwithstanding his care of the elections. The session opened on the 1st of March; and, to neutralize opposition, he had attempted to gain over, by a promise of long-coveted concessions, the support of the old-established guilds and corporations of the city of London.

The sixteenth century had seen the shipwreck of more than one time-honoured institution. The foreign trade from the port of London had been

* *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xix. The summary at the close of the report is made up to the death of Edward, who is there described as the late king.

The report itself is stated to have been drawn up for Parliament, and was probably, therefore, presented in the first year of Mary.

carried on from the time of the Norman sovereigns, down to a recent period, under the jurisdiction of a close body of monopolists, representatives of the various guilds and companies, entitled the Fellowship of the London Merchants. An organization which arises spontaneously has in its origin right upon its side. It springs into being as the answer to an acknowledged want which, in some degree, more satisfactory or less, it contrives to satisfy. It may be believed that so long as the desire to do right among them was stronger than the desire to grow rich, a close corporation conducted the trade of the country with more inherent equity, and with greater honour to the English name, than would have resulted from general competition. But exclusive privileges had ended, as usual, in the abuse of those privileges. In the twelfth year of Henry VII. the Merchant Adventurers, or unattached traders, petitioned for the right which belonged to them as freeborn Englishmen of carrying their goods into foreign countries, and selling them as they pleased, on their own terms. 'The Fellowship of London Merchants,' they said, 'for their own singular lucre, contrary to every Englishman's liberty,' had made an ordinance among themselves that no Englishman should buy or sell in the markets of the Low Countries without paying a fine to the Fellowship; and the fine had been gradually raised, till at last a demand of forty pounds was made upon every young merchant who was entering life before he could be permitted to trade.

CH. 29.

A. D. 1553.
March.

The exclusive privileges of the Corporation of London Merchants had been abolished by Henry VII.

CH. 29. The petition of the Adventurers was heard by parliament. The conduct of the corporation was held to be 'contrary to all law, reason, charity, right, and conscience.' Their jurisdiction was closed, and the foreign trade was declared free.*

A.D. 1553.
March.

The merchants endeavour to recover these privileges.

In the first half of the century the old-established London houses had suffered from the competition; and they took advantage of the necessities of an embarrassed government to make an effort to recover their privileges.

The reputation of English goods had unquestionably suffered in the foreign markets; and the fraudulent manufactures, which were in reality the natural growth of an age of infidelity, they represented as the effect of a disorganized intrusion of unauthorized persons into 'the feat and mystery' of merchandize.

The fall of the exchange, notoriously due to the debasement of the currency, they attributed with equal injustice to the same cause; and Northumberland, to gain the support of so strong a body, and too happy to rest on others the consequences of his own misdoings, undertook, if possible, to gratify them.†

* 12 Henry VII. cap. 6.

† When the House of Commons petitioned Henry VIII. against the abuses of the spiritual courts, the bishops replied to the special charges of misconduct with a defence of the principle on which their authority was founded. It is amusing to find Sir Thomas Gresham ad-

dressing Northumberland with precisely similar arguments. All that was urged, either by prelate or merchant, was most excellent, provided only that the wisdom and honesty of the jurisdiction which they defended was equal to its claims and professions. 'The exchange,' wrote Gresham, 'is one of the chiefest points in

An act was prepared in compliance with the request of Sir Thomas Gresham, to limit the num-

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
March.

the commonweal that your Grace and the King's Majesty's Council hath to look unto; for, as the exchange riseth, so all the commodities in England falleth; and as the exchange falleth, so all the commodities in England riseth; as, also, if the exchange riseth, it will be the right occasion that all our gold and silver shall remain within our realm. And, to be plain with your Grace, you shall never be able to bring this to pass except you take away one of the greatest occasions of the let and stay thereof, that there shall be no more made free of this company of Merchant Adventurers from this day forward. For verily they have been and are one of the chiefest occasions of the falling of the exchange; as also, for lack of experience, they have brought the commodities of our realm clean out of reputation, as also the merchants of the same, which times past hath been most in estimation of all the merchants of the world. In the few years since the act was made for the new Hanse the merchants and our commodities hath fallen in decay, and like to fall daily more and more, except the matter be prevented in time. For, as your Grace doth right well know, where there is no order kept, all things at length falleth to confusion. So, an it please your Grace, how is it possible that either a minstrel player, or a shoemaker, or any crafty man, or any other that hath not been brought up in the science, to

have the present understanding of the feat of the Merchant Adventurers; to the which science I myself was bound prentice eight years, to come by the experience and knowledge that I have: nevertheless, I need not have been prentice, for that I was free by my father's copy. Albeit my father, Sir Richard Gresham, being a wise man, knew, although I was free by his copy, it was to no purpose except I was bound prentice to the same. So that by this it may appear to your Grace that these men that be made free by this new Hanse, for lack of knowledge, hath been and is one of the chiefest occasions of the fall of the exchange, as also hath brought our commodities out of reputation.

'As a further example to your Grace, it is not passing twenty or thirty years ago since we had for every twenty shillings sterling thirty-two shillings Flemish; and the notable number that hath from time to time run in headlong into the feat of merchandize, and so entered into credit, when they had overshot themselves, and had bound themselves with more than their substance would bear, then, for saving of their names, were fain to run upon the exchange and rechange; and the merchants, knowing that they had need thereof, would not from time to time deliver their money but at their prices. So that in these few years the plenty of these new merchants, for lack of ex-

CH. 29. ber of the Adventurers, and to interfere with and hamper their trade with restrictions and disquali-

A. D. 1553.
March.

perience, substance, and credit, hath been only the occasion that the exchange fell from thirty-two shillings to 26s. 8d., which was done afore any fall of money passed in England.

'To make an end of this matter, it may please you to understand till that the King's Majesty and you, with the rest of his Most Honourable Council, have wholly set an order in the premises, that you shall never be able to bring the commodities of this realm to such purpose as heretofore hath been; for plenty of merchants without experience is the uttermost destruction of any realm that hath the like commodities that we have to transport, which must be kept in reputation by merchants, or else in process of time things will grow to small estimation.

'Also there is another matter which is most convenient to be looked unto in time. And this is to make a general stay that there may be no retailer occupy the feat of Merchant Adventurers, but only to keep him, and to live upon his retail: and likewise the Merchant Adventurer to occupy his feat only, and to touch no retail, for divers considerations of damage, as doth daily ensue thereof: and, for an example, the retailer comes over with the commodities of our realm, which, if a cannot sell them at his price, then a falls to bartering of them for silks and such like merchandize, and careth not to win by his cloth,

for that a is sure to win by the retail of his silks. Now, the Merchant Adventurer that occupyeth no retail cometh over with our commodities to have his gains and his living thereby; and for that the retailer doth sell the self commodities better cheap than he is able to afford them, a doth not only take away the living of the Merchant Adventurer, but in process of time the few numbers of forty or fifty retailers in London will eat out all the merchants within our realm.'

Gresham seemed unconscious of the practical commentary which he was making upon his doctrine that only men who understood their business should be allowed to trade. His complaint against the retailers was merely that they were more skilful than their competitors.

'For your Grace's better instruction in the matter,' he continued, 'it may please you to understand that this last March there was one Rowland Haywood and Richard Foulkes, both retailers, as also this last year they both came in by the new Hanse; which parties sold here in barter 1500 cloths of the best sort in England and took half silks for them; and the said cloths so sold here was offered by the party that bought them to sell in this town for four pounds better cheap than any Merchant Adventurer was able to afford them; which is a matter in the commonweal to be looked upon. In consideration whereof, the merchants here

fications.* Having thus conciliated at least one powerful party, the duke, on the 6th of March, introduced his Subsidy Bill in the House of Commons.† The preamble was drawn by himself or under his immediate direction. It repeated, as the occasion for the required grant, the words of his own letter; and the exhaustion of the exchequer was attributed exclusively to the recklessness of the Duke of Somerset, and the wars into which he had plunged the country. To relieve the country of the debt which had been thus increased, two fifteenths and tenths were demanded of the laity, to be paid in two years; with an income-tax of five per cent. on the rents of their lands for an equal period. The clergy were required to give ten per cent. for three years on their benefices or other promotions.‡ The debates are lost. It is known only that the bill was long argued, notwithstanding Northumberland's precaution, and was carried with difficulty.§ Carried it was at last; but the House of Commons was far from complaisant. The retrospective examination of the public accounts had been aban-

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
March.
Northumberland endeavours to gratify them.

A subsidy is demanded, and granted with some difficulty.

with one assent have made an act to take effect at Midsummer next coming, with a proviso so far forth as the King's Majesty and his Most Honourable Council be agreeable to the same, that the retailer shall occupy only his retail, and the Merchant Adventurer his feat accordingly, to be at their liberty betwixt this and then to take to one of them which they shall seem most to their profit, which in my poor

opinion seems to me a thing most reasonable.' — Gresham to the Duke of Northumberland: *Flanders MSS.* Edward VI. State Paper Office.

* Note for an Act to be prepared for the Parliament: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xvi. Ibid.

† *Commons Journals*, 7 Edward VI.

‡ 7 Edward VI. 12, 13.

§ BURNET.

CH. 29. doned, or if not the examination, yet the prosecution of defaulters. A measure, however, was introduced for an annual audit of the books of all collectors and receivers, with precautions to prevent speculation for the future; and so jealously was the wording of the act examined and sifted, that it was twice drawn and redrawn before it was finally passed.*

A.D. 1553.
March.
An act is
passed to
prevent
fraud in
public offi-
cials.

A creditable bill had been designed for the protection of the poor tenants of small cottages 'against the severing of land from houses;' and another to prevent the bishops and cathedral chapters from granting long leases on the Church lands, to be renewed upon fines. Both these measures were, unfortunately, dropped, as leading up to inconvenient questions. Again, to pacify the clergy after the late spoliations, a measure was brought forward that 'no person not a deacon should hold ecclesiastical promotions.' The Lords passed it, but the Commons declined. The country gentlemen refused to unclothe their grasp upon the impropriated benefices, and the bill was lost upon the third reading.

Parliament
refuses to
restore the
merchants'
monopoly.

A defeat on this last point Northumberland perhaps endured with patience. It was of more consequence to him that he was compelled to dis-appoint Sir Thomas Gresham and the merchants

* It is remarkable that in an official list of measures intended to be introduced during the session there is no mention of this act. It was probably forced upon the government by the de-

bates on the subsidy.—Compare 7 Edward VI. cap. 1, with the Preparatory List: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xvi. State Paper Office.

of the city. The bill which had been prepared in their favour was never introduced. CH. 29.
A bill to repeal the act of Henry VII. was carried in the Upper House, but the Commons were again obstinate, and the monopoly could not be restored.* A.D. 1553. March.

Nor was it only in parliament that the duke encountered awkward opposition.

John Knox, who, since his dismissal from France, had held a commission as a preacher in Durham and Northumberland, was looked upon as a desirable person to be promoted to a bishopric. The see of Rochester was vacated in the autumn of 1552 by the translation of Ponet to Winchester, and the duke thought of nominating Knox to it; partly, he said, 'as a whetstone to quicken the Archbishop of Canterbury, whereof he had need,' and partly—a more singular reason—to put an end to Knox's ministrations in the north, where he had habitually disobeyed the Act of Uniformity, and had not cared to conceal his objections to the Prayer-book.† Northumberland communicated his intentions in a personal interview, and was not gratified at the manner in which the intimation was received. Under no temptation would Knox have accepted an office which he believed to be antichristian; but with his hard grey eyes he looked through and through into the heart of the second Moses of John Bale, and he could not tell, he said, whether he were

* *Lords Journals, Commons Journals*, 7 Edward VI.

† Northumberland to Cecil, October 28, 1552: *TITLEY*, vol. ii.

CH. 29. not 'a dissembler in religion.* In fact, he thought he could tell; and, not contented with refusing to take a favour at his hands, he held it to be his duty to make known his opinions to the world. Preaching before the court in the spring, while Parliament was sitting, in the presence of the king, Northumberland, and the council, he asked how it was that the most godly princes had officers and chief councillors the most ungodly enemies to religion, and traitors to their princes; and quoting the characters of Ahithophel, Shebnah, and Judas, he fastened the first with a transparent allusion on Northumberland; the second he gave to Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Judas was present also, though he pointed less certainly to the person whom he regarded as the counterpart of the treacherous apostle.† He vituperated from the pulpit the

A.D. 1553.
March.
But, believing Northumberland to be a hypocrite, Knox will not accept office under him,

And speaks his opinion in a sermon before the court.

* Northumberland to Cecil, December 7, 1552: TYTLEE, vol. ii.

† 'Who, I pray you, ruled the roast in the court all this time by stout courage and proudness of stomach? who, I pray you, ruled all by counsel and wit? Shall I name the man? I will write no more plainly than my tongue spake even to the face of such as of whom I meant. I recited the histories of Ahithophel, Shebnah, and Judas; of whom the two former had high offices and promotions, with great authority, under David and Hezekiah, and Judas was purse-bearer unto Christ Jesus.' 'Was David, said I, and Hezekiah abused by crafty councillors and

dissembling hypocrites? What wonder is it that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly councillors? I am greatly afraid that Ahithophel is councillor, that Judas bears the purse, and that Shebnah is scribe, controller, and treasurer.' And yet Knox afterwards accused himself for want of boldness. 'I did speak of men's faults,' he says, 'so that all men might know whom I meant; but, alas! this day my conscience accuseth me that I spake not as my duty was to have done—for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressly by his name, thou shalt die the death. Jeremiah the prophet, Elijah, Elisha,

vices of the court, and the worldliness of the faction who were misgoverning the country. Since discipline could not be restored, he, and those who felt with him the enormity of the times, established by their own authority this second form of excommunication.*

Northumberland, who had witnessed the fall of the old clergy, had no intention of enduring the insolence of the new. At the end of March Cranmer produced in the House of Lords his reformed code of canon law. Northumberland rose, and, turning fiercely on the archbishop, bade him attend to the duties of his office. The clergy were going beyond their province, presuming in their sermons to touch the doings of their superiors. 'You bishops,' he said, 'look to it at your

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
March.

Northumberland reproaches Cranmer in parliament with the effrontery of the clergy.

Micah, Amos, Daniel, Christ Jesus himself, and after him his apostles, expressly warned the bloodthirsty tyrants and disseminating hypocrites of their danger. Why withheld we the salt? I accuse none but myself. The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcase was the chief cause why I was not fervent and faithful enough. I had no will to provoke the hatred of men against me. So touched I the vices of men in the presence of the greatest that they might see themselves to be offenders; but yet, nevertheless, I would not be seen to proclaim manifest war against the manifest wicked; whereof unfeignedly I ask God mercy.' — *Admonition to the Faithful in England.*

* Knox was not always just. He afterwards accused the Marquis of Winchester of having been the first contriver of the conspiracy to set aside Mary; whereas, he was among the most consistent opponents of that conspiracy. He charged Gardiner with having advised the Spanish marriage, although there was nothing which Gardiner so much dreaded. Nevertheless, the power of passing censures on the conduct of public men, in the name of right and wrong, is one which, in some form or other, has existed, and ought to exist, in every well-ordered community. The most effective and the least objectionable instrument of such criticism is the public press as it is conducted at the present day in this country.

CH. 29. peril. Take heed that the like happen not
 A.D. 1553. again, or you and your preachers shall suffer for
 March. it together.' The archbishop ventured a mild
 protest. He had heard no complaints of the
 preachers, he said; they might have spoken of
 vices and abuses; he did not know. 'There
 were vices enough,' Northumberland answered,
 violently, 'no doubt of that;' 'the fruits of
 the Gospel in this life were sufficiently meagre.'*
 Assailed in the pulpit, thwarted in the Commons,
 hated by the people, the haughty minister found
 his temper failing him, and the smooth exterior
 less easy to maintain. 'Those about me,' he
 complained to Cecil, 'are so slack as I can evil
 bear it; indeed, of late, but for my duty to the
 State, my heart could scarce endure the manner
 of it.† He had secured the subsidy; the con-
 tinued sitting of a parliament was inconvenient
 when his own nominees had opposed him; on
 the last of March, within a month of the meeting,
 it was dissolved.

Becoming
 impatient,
 he dissolves
 parlia-
 ment.

It is a question on which much depends, yet one
 which, nevertheless, there is little chance of ade-
 quately answering, whether the fortunes of North-
 umberland were not now bringing him to a point
 where he must either rise higher or fall utterly,
 irrespective of the life or death of the young king.
 The enthusiastic correspondents of Bullinger
 assured him that Edward regarded the duke as a
 father, and Edward by his conduct at the close

* Scheyfne to Charles V.: *MS. Rolls House*, transcribed from
 the Brussels Archives.

† Northumberland to Cecil: *Lansdowne MSS.* 3.

of his life proved that his own confidence was not yet shaken; but the power of English ministers rarely survived intense unpopularity. By the accidents of the revolution, by 'stout courage and proudness of stomach,' by dexterity, perhaps by crime, Northumberland was become almost absolute—absolute as the able man can always make himself in times of disorder, if he is untroubled with moral scruples, when his competitors for power are as unprincipled as himself, and only his inferiors in capacity. But, as it was only a temporary convulsion which placed a person of so poor a type of character at the head of the government, so Northumberland was detested while he was obeyed. Those who, like Cecil, were treated by him with apparent cordiality, those whom he had addressed as his friends, whom he seemed to entrust with his most secret thoughts, felt his influence like a nightmare.* The growing discernment, the earnest interest in public affairs, and the consciousness of the disorganization of the State, which Edward exhibited more and more as he grew older, would have sooner or later brought forward other ministers; in two years he would be of age, when inquiry could not have been avoided; and Northumberland's influence

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
April.

Northumberland's position becomes critical, owing to the hatred of the people.

He had powerful enemies waiting an opportunity to overthrow him.

* Northumberland's Correspondence with Cecil in the *State Paper Office* flows over with confidence, public spirit, and zeal for religion, with all those studied graces of expression, which charmed and deceived the eager Protestants. Yet, on his release

from the court, when Edward was dead, and the spell was broken, Cecil entered in his Journal '7 Julii libertatem adeptus sum morte regis, ex misero aulico factus liber et mei juris.' —*Life of Burghley*, by NARES.

CH. 29. would scarcely have survived the revelations which Arundel, whom he had imprisoned, Paget, whom he had stripped of his estates and expelled from the Order of the Garter,* with the friends of Somerset, would have brought to light when opportunity permitted. His unpopularity in the country was a present fact, which every day became more embarrassing; and he had no friends except among the incapable or the dreamers. Wolsey, Cromwell, Somerset, had fallen successively from the same height to which Northumberland had climbed; and the Nemesis which haunts political supremacy irregularly obtained, would not have failed to overtake one whose administration had been scandalous to the empire, whose errors had arisen, not from generous weakness, not from large purposes too unscrupulously followed, but from a littleness of mind rarely combined with talents and with courage so considerable as those with which the duke must be credited. His overthrow could not but at times have seemed likely to him, unless he could by some means rest his power on a harder foundation; and therefore it was that, as Sir Richard Morryson said, he never moved forward directly upon any object without looking to the possible consequences to himself. He had played a double game with the Emperor. After risking the peace of the kingdom on the question of Mary's

A. D. 1553.
April.

His power had been irregularly obtained, and ignobly used.

Anticipating dangers, he had played secretly with all parties.

* 'Chiefly,' says Edward, in his *Journal*, 'because he was no gentleman born neither by the father's nor the mother's side.'

Revolutionary governments are not generally so scrupulous about high birth.

mass, he had contrived that in private she should not further be interfered with. He affected extreme Protestant opinions to keep his place with the Reformers. He was Imperialist, he was French, he had an anchor thrown out in all quarters from which a wind might blow. However events might turn, he had done something, or he had affected something which would provide him a resource should he be driven to shift his colours.

But this uncertain attitude could not be maintained for ever. A crisis came which compelled him to choose his course.

Edward with varying health had arrived at the age fatal to the male Tudors, the age at which Prince Arthur had died, at which his brother the Duke of Richmond had died. The cough to which he was always subject had increased in the late winter. He dissolved parliament in person, but immediately after he was removed to Greenwich in a state of marked debility, and by the end of April the gravest alarms were entertained for his life. Philosophers, who believe that great events are enveloped in great causes, that the future is evolved out of the present by laws unerring as those which regulate the processes of nature, can see in the grandest of individual men but instruments which might easily have been dispensed with ; and in the cracking of the thread of a human soul but a melting raindrop, or a leaf fluttering from a bough. Centuries, it may be, take their complexion from these large influences ; and broad

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
April.

But Edward now falls ill,

CH. 29. laws of progress may shape the moulds for the casting of eras; but the living Englishman of the sixteenth century would have seen in these closet speculations but the shadow of a dream compared with the interests which depended on the result of the illness of a boy who was not yet sixteen. The eyes of England, of the Emperor, of the Pope, of the King of France, of all the civilized world, were turned with almost equal agitation to the sick-bed at Greenwich.

A. D. 1553.
April.
And the
fate of
Europe as
well as of
Northum-
berland
hangs on
the result
of his dis-
order.

State of the Continent. The reverses of France in the autumn of 1552 had produced a return of civility to England. Stukley's stories, as we have seen, were denied or explained away. The complaints of the merchants were disposed of peaceably by commissioners, and the efforts and the anxieties of the court of Paris were directed wholly towards Metz, where Charles in person, with the Duke of Alva and 45,000 men had sate down to wrench his conquest from the Duke of Guise. A winter siege was an enterprise at which the Emperor in his better days would have hesitated; but since the flight from Innspruck he had been observed to be unequal to himself; and illness and bad fortune had made him obstinate. On the 24th of November the siege was opened. The Spaniards pushed their trenches towards the walls; the French pushed trenches forwards from the walls to meet them; and the works were so close, that besiegers and besieged were in shot of each other's 'hand-guns.' The batteries played incessantly on the city, and breaches were opened; but fresh walls rose behind the ruins; mid-

Charles V.
besieges
Metz.

night sallies carried off the Imperial guns; CH. 29. fever and dysentery wasted the Imperial troops. In December there came a frost harder than any living man remembered, and the gout came back to Charles, so violently that Morrison 'supposed the Emperor should not much longer need any ambassador; there were few that could better digest Fortune's foul play than he; yet good-nature might be provoked too far.* The Spaniards might shiver to death in their tents, but Metz could not be taken; and Charles was carried back to Luxemburg, as he believed, to die.

A.D. 1552.
November.
The frost
breaks up
the siege,
and Metz
cannot be
taken.

As soon as the failure was known in England, Northumberland, either thinking the opportunity a good one to increase his own influence, or to recover for the country its weight in the councils of Europe, offered to mediate. Sir William Pickering was instructed to make overtures for a peace at Paris. Sir Andrew Dudley, the duke's brother, was sent to Luxemburg.†

1553.
January.

* Morryson to Cecil, *MS. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office..

† Dudley and Morryson were admitted into the Emperor's bedroom. 'We found there,' wrote the latter, 'the Prince of Piedmont, the Duke of Alva, the Bishop of Arras, Don Diego, M. de Vaux, the Count of Egmont, with all those of his chamber, it being better furnished with hangings than ever I found it before. Mr. Dudley, after reverence done to him at our entry, being almost come to his Majesty, did press to kiss his hand; but he, putting his hand to his cap, not being

able, as it should seem, to put it so high as to take it off, would not suffer him to kiss it. Mr. Dudley declared his instructions. The Emperor took them in very thankful part; and not being able to speak loud, and Mr. Dudley, by reason of his extreme cold, not being able to hear him, did with signs will me to mark. Whereupon the Emperor, somewhat perceiving the matter, I said that Mr. Dudley was so stuffed and stopped in his head, that he could not well hear unless his Majesty did speak louder; nor I well understand, unless it would please his Majesty to

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
January.
Charles
falls ill,
and is
likely to
die.

The Emperor was in extremity of sickness; so ill that Morryson, who accompanied Dudley to his bedroom, said that he had often seen him suffering, but 'never so nigh gone, never so dead in the face, his hand never so lean and pale and wan.' 'His eyes, that were wont to be full of life when all the rest had yielded to sickness, were now heavy and dull, as nigh death in their looks,' 'as ever' Morryson 'saw any.' The cunning Arras, the iron Alva, the chivalrous Egmont, were standing mournfully at the bedside. The Prince of Savoy forced a smile as the ambassadors entered, but talked like 'a man amazed.'*

Charles roused himself with an effort. He spoke with extreme difficulty, but with courtesy and clearness. He thanked the English government for their kindness, which he said he would

speaking Italian. Whereupon, being willing to speak Italian than able to speak louder, he said to me in Italian—I thank my good brother the king for his friendly sending and for his noble and princely offers, and for my part will leave nothing undone that may by any means either maintain or increase the amity. I, for my part, will at all times bear the king my good brother the affection of a father, and not fail him when my friendship may do him profit. It is much to his honour, and no small praise to him, that he, so young, hath this zeal and this care for the quietness and concord of Christendom, and such a desire to see it conserved from the Turk's tyranny.

'And where my good brother doth offer his travail with the spending of his treasure for the atoning of the French king and me, I do give him my hearty thanks for it. Marry, as I did not begin the wars, so I cannot with mine honour make any answer to this my good brother's request till I understand what mine enemy would do.

'And here, though in very deed his Majesty was hoarse at the beginning, yet, when he came to name his enemy, he spake so loud as Mr. Dudley might hear easily what he said.'—Morryson to the Council: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

* Ibid.

ever remember. But as for the peace, he did not begin the war, and he could not with honour be the first to propose terms on which to end it. His 'enemy' must speak first; and as he spoke of his enemy his fiery nature kindled up, and the faint voice sounded out clear and stern.

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
January.
England
offers to
mediate,
but neither
France nor
the Empire
will make
the first
advances.

The same spirit was shown at Paris. Henry, too, was ready for peace; he would accept the advances of the Emperor, but he would not commence; and for the first few weeks of the year, while the season caused a compulsory armistice, the arbitration could not advance over the first preliminaries.

Yet, if peace there was to be, both parties appeared anxious to arrive at it through the mediation of England. A nuncio came in February from Rome, with an offer of the Pope's services, but he could not obtain admission into the Emperor's presence.* The King of France assured Pickering that, so far as he was concerned, he desired nothing better than to place himself in English hands. Yet Pickering, who was a shrewd, clear-sighted man, at the close of a long and smooth interview, came to a conclusion 'that England would do well to trust neither of those princes.' They would regard no promise, no duty, no obligation, which might interfere with 'their own conve-

* 'And because it will not be,' said Morryson, 'he is in such a chafe that there are few here that can get leave from him to eat eggs this Lent. If men were as wise as he is stubborn, they might perhaps drive him to be the suitor, and to pray them to take his licences, not only to eat eggs, but to eat eggs' sons and daughters, if they come in their way.'—Morryson to the Council: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

CH. 29. nience.* He might have added that England also was only consulting her convenience; but, from the correspondence of the three courts, there appear to have been in each of them, as usual, separate parties with separate policies whose views crossed and intercepted one another.

A.D. 1553.
March.
Cross poli-
cies are at
work
among the
European
powers.

Northum-
berland is
unable to
choose his
course.

On the 2nd of April, the Bishop of Norwich and Sir Philip Hoby went to Brussels, whither Charles had removed, to repeat the proposals which had been made through Dudley.† Morryson was recalled, but his recal was immediately countermanded; and in May, Northumberland was corresponding with him on the feasibility of the league which had been spoken of before between England, the Empire, and the German States against France.‡ At the same time he was assuring Boisdaulphin, the French ambassador in England, 'that he would never bear arms unless in the service of his own sovereign, or of his Most Christian Majesty.§ And again, simultaneously, an agent of the English government in the Netherlands was privately betraying the secrets, so far as he knew them, of Northumberland's party to Charles.||

It is at once useless and unnecessary to trace

* Pickering to the Council: *MS. France*, bundle 10, State Paper Office.

† Their commission was signed somewhat singularly by all the council *except* Northumberland. — *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

‡ *MS. Ibid.*

§ Boisdaulphin to the King of France: *Ambassades de Noailles*, vol. ii.

|| *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

the complicated involutions of a general distrust. CH. 29.
 It is clear only that so long as they were at war A.D. 1553.
 both France and the Empire desired really the May.
 support of England. The Emperor was exhausted.* France had its eye on Calais, but was in no condition, as yet, to strike for it. North-umberland, professing to be an impartial friend to both, was making secret and separate overtures to each, unknown to the other. Up to the time that Edward's illness showed a likelihood of terminating fatally, the duke was uncertain in which direction it would be most for the advantage of England to incline the balance, while his own interests had no special bias either way. And again, aware of the disposition of the man with whom they had to deal, both Charles and Henry felt the necessity of watching the duke; under the ostensible pretext of meeting the English offer of mediation, the ablest of their diplomatists were dispatched to London to intrigue, to watch events, to obtain information by fair means, by foul means, by any means.

In order to watch the movements of North-umber-land,

Simon Renard, the minister of the Emperor, had been governor of a district in Franche Comté.

Simon Renard is sent from Brussels to England,

* Sir Philip Hoby sent a second sad picture of Charles's condition to Cecil. 'The Prince here is very feeble and weak of body, and every day decayeth more and more in the same. So doth his credit in like manner decay, both in Germany, Italy, and all other places—nothing beloved, but disobeyed in a manner of all. Also out of soldiers' estimation. Yea, and his pro-

ceedings in every place go very ill forward. So as it seemeth unto me good fortune hath forsaken him, and he is like every day faster and faster to diminish in love, estimation, and power, than presently he doth in strength of body, all be so earnestly bent against him so far as I can perceive.'—Hoby to Cecil: *Burleigh Papers*, vol. i.

CH. 29. Unknown, as yet, to European fame, Renard was known to Sir Philip Hoby, who, writing to Cecil of the probability of Edward's death, and of the influence which he might exercise over Mary, should Mary succeed, exclaimed, 'If England should be ruled by such a councillor, woe, woe to England, for then it would come to ruin and destruction, and them that favour God's Word would be in worse case than those that were in the time of Sodom and Gomorrah.*' Antoine de Noailles, one of three distinguished brothers, of old and noble family, had served with honour in the wars of Francis I. He was present at the defeat of the Emperor in Provence in 1536. Succeeding d'Annebaut, as admiral of the French fleet, it was he who dispatched Ville-gaignon to Scotland with the ships which brought Mary Stuart into France; and he was governor of Bordeaux at the time when he was chosen by the king for the delicate mission to England. Noailles reached London in the middle of May. Renard not till six weeks later. From the despatches of these two, and before their arrival, from those of Scheyfne and Boisdaulphin, the ambassadors in ordinary, is to be gathered so much as can be known of the secret history of the attempt of Northumberland to alter the succession to the crown.

A.D. 1553.
May.

And Antoine de Noailles is sent from France.

Edward's illness increases.

No sooner was Edward known to have been removed to Greenwich in consequence of illness, than his death was instinctively anticipated.

* Hoby to Cecil: *Burleigh Papers*, vol. i.

Only once, after his arrival there, he was seen in the garden; after that he was confined entirely to his room. By the end of April he was spitting blood, his disorder presenting the same symptoms which had preceded the death of his brother the Duke of Richmond, and the country was felt to be on the eve of a new reign. Vast as, at such a prospect, the excitement must have been, the accession of Mary, should the king die, was looked forward to as a matter of course. The long agitation of the subject, the anxieties and the scandals which the uncertainty had occasioned in the last reign, and the deliberate settlement of the crown by act of parliament as well as by her father's will, in Mary's favour, had familiarized the minds of all men with the name of the princess as their future sovereign, should Edward leave no children. The question had been mooted, had been discussed, had been decided; and on grounds of public safety there was no disposition to raise further doubt on a subject of so much magnitude. Although a queen was a novelty in the constitution, the people would rather submit to a queen, and to a queen of ambiguous legitimacy, than risk the chance of another War of the Roses.

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
May.

The accession of Mary is anticipated,

Personally Mary was popular. She had lived in retirement, and her objections to the later developments of the Reformation were well known; but on this point she had the support of a powerful party. The sufferings of her mother, and the religious persecution which she had herself undergone, had secured her the affection of the

Her religious opinions, so far as they were known, not being considered an obstacle.

CH. 29. people, which as yet she had done nothing to forfeit. A return to communion with the See of Rome was unthought of. Mary herself was not supposed to desire what, in common with the rest of the country, she had renounced under her father. A return to the constitution of religion as her father left it, was probably the wish of three quarters of the English nation. The orthodox Catholics were outraged by the imprisonment of the bishops, and the establishment by law of opinions which they execrated as heresy. The moderate English party had no sympathy with a tyranny which had thrust the views of foreign Reformers by force upon the people. Even the citizens of London, where Protestantism had the strongest hold, had been exasperated by the offensive combination of sacrilege and spoliation with a pedantry which could not bear the sound of the church-bells, and regarded an organ as impious. The clergy at the moment when the king's illness became serious were being subjected to a compulsory subscription to the Forty-two Articles, under pain of ejection from their benefices; while the universal corruption of public functionaries, the sufferings of the poor, the ruin of the currency, and the embarrassment of the finances, reflected double discredit on the opinions of which these were considered the results. It was assumed that Mary was English, that she would govern only through an English parliament and with English ministers. The tyranny of Rome had

A.D. 1553.
May.

The Protestant tyranny had made itself generally execrated.

not been broken that it might be followed by a more intolerable tyranny of Protestantism.

Northumberland bowed outwardly to the general feeling. He supplied the princess, who was then at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, with regular bulletins of the king's health; and he restored to her the arms and quarterings which she had borne as heir-presumptive before the divorce of her mother.* Yet it was observed that he was collecting money with unusual eagerness. There were rumours of disagreement at the council board. It was said that Lord Pembroke had desired to leave London, and had been forcibly compelled to remain;† and at the end of April a marriage was announced as about to take place between Lord Guilford Dudley, the duke's fourth son, a boy of seventeen, and Lady Jane Grey.‡ Whatever may have been his internal speculations, however, Northumberland had so far given no hints of intending a change to the Privy Council. Mary's friends among the Lords were in constant communication with Scheyfne, and through Scheyfne with the princess. Not a word was spoken, not a move of importance was made, but the ambassador had instant notice. In fact, Northumberland himself was still hesitating. Three times in the month of May his instructions to Sir Richard Morryson were altered. At the beginning there was to be a league between Eng-

CH. 29.

A. D. 1553.

April.
Northumberland affects to treat Mary as presumptive heir,

* Scheyfne to the Emperor: Scheyfne's Despatches: *MS. Rolls House*. Transcript from the Brussels Archives.

† Scheyfne.

‡ Ibid.

CH. 29. land, the Empire, and the Germans. A few days later Morryson was told to go no further with it.*

A.D. 1553.
May.
Being still
undeter-
mined how
to act;

On the 24th he was informed doubtfully that he might feel his way towards it with the Emperor again. Had the duke intended merely to throw the Emperor off his guard, vacillation would have been unnatural and out of place. Deliberate hypocrisy cannot afford to be inconsistent.

It is needless to credit Northumberland with anxiety for the public interest. He must first have endeavoured to satisfy himself of the effects which Mary's accession would produce upon his own fortunes. Could he have hoped to retain his present authority, ambition for his family would not have tempted him into an effort to set her aside; and he may have believed that his underhand manœuvring had given him a hold on the princess's gratitude. But he must soon have convinced himself that any such expectation would be disappointed. On the day that Mary set her

But he feels
that Mary's
accession
will close
his power,

And per-
haps will
ruin his
fortunes,

foot upon the throne the gates of the Tower would open; Norfolk and Gardiner would return to the council, and the conservative Lords to the court. The lips of those that he had oppressed would be opened. Somerset's murder would rise in judgment against him. He knew too well 'the dead men's bones and all uncleanness' which lay concealed behind the fair surface of his godly professions. Was there, then, any hope that the succession could be changed? The fanatics dreaded Mary as much as Northumberland dreaded her.

* Instructions to Sir Richard Morryson: *Cotton. MSS. Galba, 12.*

However moderate might be her policy, the best which they could look for would be toleration. They would lose their supremacy, and the privilege of forcing their opinions upon others. The duke might rely, therefore, on them and on their leaders among the bishops. But the ultra-faction was numerically small; and unless he could strengthen his hands with more influential support, his chances were nothing. It was possible for him, however, to work upon many of the laity with the phantom of reaction, which, under the mildest form, had its terrors for those to whom, by grant or purchase, the estates of the Church had fallen. It was possible to work upon the superstition of the king, who had been made bitter against his sister by the collision into which he had been forced with her. The weak Duke of Suffolk could be led away by the prospect of a crown for his daughter; and there were others among the new-made lords whose influence, if not fortune, depended on the continuance in power of the revolutionary party. Above all, Northumberland had possession of the situation. He had the organized military force of the kingdom at his disposal, which was at this time considerable. The fleet, the arsenals, the fortresses, the treasury were all in his hands; and he might count with certainty on the support of France, which would be only too happy to prevent the crown of England from falling to so close a connexion of the Emperor.

These considerations (and there were others, perhaps, which we do not know) might have seemed to the most calculating statesman to offer

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.
May.And he
finds reason
to believe
that he
may be
able to
alter the
succession.

CH. 29. a reasonable chance of success. A desperate man,
 A.D. 1553. with ruin staring him in the face if he left
 May. events to take their course—with power for him-
 self and the kingdom for his family if he tried
 fortune and found her favourable—would have
 thrown the hazard with far lighter grounds of
 hope. The duke waited, however, before he
 moved—before, probably, he took his own final
 resolution—till it became quite certain that
 Edward could not recover.

The prospect of Mary becoming queen was
 naturally raising the spirits of the Imperialists.
 Boisdaulphin, with Noailles, who had just ar-
 rived, was correspondingly anxious; Scheyfne,
 they saw, was 'not asleep;' and on the 4th of May
 they pressed for a private interview with the
 duke. They had been long anxious, they said,
 to be admitted to the king's presence. They had
 been answered that his illness made it impossible
 for him to receive them; but in the meantime
 the longer they were kept from the court, the
 more significant of the approaching attitude of
 England their absence would appear. They sug-
 gested that, if they could not see the king, the
 world might be made to suppose that they had
 seen him. A plan was arranged. The next day
 they were invited to dine at Greenwich, and as
 they were rising from the table, Northampton
 brought a message into the room that Edward was
 expecting them. They followed into a private
 apartment; and while the court believed that
 they were by the sick-bed, they were joined by
 Northumberland and others of the council, who

May 4.

The French
 are made
 anxious by
 the pro-
 spect of
 Mary's ac-
 cession.

May 5.

entered at large with them on the great question of the moment. The duke declared that he was wholly French; and as the conversation went forward, he at last asked them what they would do, were they in his (the duke's) position. Noailles, cautious of what he committed to paper, informed his master that he did not fail to suggest what would be most to the advantage of France.*

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
May 5.
The French ambassa-
dors, being
consulted
by North-
umberland,
give him
advice.

The same day, Edward being reported worse, and his attendants requiring further advice, the family physician of Northumberland was called in, with a professor of medicine from Oxford; to these a woman was afterwards added, who professed to be in possession of some mysterious specific; and before they were admitted to the sick-room they were sworn, in the presence of Northumberland, Northampton, and Suffolk, to reveal to no one the king's condition.† The guard at the Tower was doubled, and a Wild rumour spread in London that Elizabeth had been sent for to be married to Lord Warwick, whose wife was to be divorced to make room for her. A few days later Scheyfne reported that something (he knew not what) was going forward. Five hundred men had been quietly introduced into Windsor Castle by Northampton: He had been privately informed that the same

* Il est venu jusques à nous demander ce que nous ferions si nous estions en sa place, à quoi nous n'avons obmis, sire, de luy respondre et proposer tout ce que nous avons peu juger tendre au bien faveur et avantage de vos affaires.—Boisdaulphin and Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.
† Scheyfne.

CH. 29. nobleman, with Suffolk and two or three others, was going down into Hertfordshire, to form a cordon silently round Hunsdon, to take possession of Mary's person, when the signal should be given them from London. With evident alarm, he added that Pembroke was one of the conspirators,* which, on the 25th of May, received a further and a strange confirmation. On that day London was startled with four extraordinary marriages—extraordinary, and, considering the king's illness, and the rank of the ladies concerned, in the highest degree indecent. Lady Catherine Dudley was married to Lord Hastings. The three daughters of the Duke of Suffolk, princesses of the blood, and possible heirs of the crown, were disposed of together; Lady Jane Grey to Lord Guilford Dudley; Lady Catherine to Pembroke's son, Lord Herbert; Lady Mary to Martin Keys, a groom of the chamber. There had been an alarm lest Mary or Elizabeth might make some objectionable alliance with a foreigner. Care was taken that there should be no such fear on account of those who were next to them in the order of succession. That some project was concealed behind these precipitate unions, and that the duke had secured a powerful supporter in the Earl of Pembroke, was no longer doubted.

A.D. 1553.
May 25.
Preparations are
silently
made to
seize Mary.

The three
daughters
of the
Duke of
Suffolk are
married.

From
which some
violent
measure is
anticip-
ated,

Yet what the project was continued a mystery.
May 30. On the 30th Scheyfne wrote again that the king was sinking slowly but surely. His head and

* Northumberland said afterwards that Pembroke was the first originator of the plot. This is not likely; but the evidence does not warrant a certain conclusion.

legs were swelling, and he could only sleep with the assistance of opiates; he might perhaps live two months, but that was the longest; while an attempt, it was now certain, would be made to exclude Mary from the throne. Religion would be one pretext, and others could be made or found. France would assist—bribed, so Scheyfne had been told, by the promise of Ireland. Elizabeth could be got rid of, or married to Warwick, or Northumberland would take her, and seize the crown for himself.*

CH. 29.

A.D. 1553.

May 30.

But the nature of it is still uncertain.

Through the first days of June the ambassador's reports acquired more and more consistency. As each step was taken he had instant and accurate information. There had been a difficulty in arranging the plans for the seizure of Mary. The Lords, who were to have been her captors, had either disagreed among themselves, or their fidelity was doubtful. Northumberland and his friends were buying up or securing all the arms in London; ships in the river were preparing for sea. The plan was now to wait for the king's death, and then at once to seize the noblemen who were expected to take Mary's side. Mary herself was to be invited to the Tower to receive the crown, and then to be secured. The duke was keeping up an appearance of studied respect towards her. He flattered himself that his secret had been kept, and that she would fall without difficulty into the snare. The Tower gates safely locked behind her, the ports were to

The project gains consistency.

* Scheyfne to Charles V., May 30: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 29.

A. D. 1553.
June.

be closed, and the evangelical preachers were to inform the people from the pulpits that, being illegitimate, she was incapable of sovereignty; that religion would be in danger; that the holders of Church property would be deprived of their estates, that the papal jurisdiction would be restored, and that, on constitutional grounds, England could not be ruled over by a woman. Elizabeth's person would be secured with Mary's, but she would be treated with more respect, since the duke might find it necessary to make use of her.

But Northumberland is warned that he will not easily succeed.

So stood the plot as it was communicated to Scheyfne in the first week in June. But, although Northumberland was confident of success, he was assured privately that the opposition would be more considerable than was anticipated. Mary was as generally popular as the duke was detested; all the peers but a few, Reformers as well as Catholics, would take her side; they might appear to be swimming with the stream, but they would strike clear from it when the time came for action. The supposed secrecy was a delusion. The conspiracy was in every one's mouth, and the people were furious. The duke was accused of having sold the country to France; but the King of France, men said, should never set foot in England. The jealousy with which Edward was guarded only stimulated suspicion. Some said that he was already dead, others that the duke had poisoned him; to which the Protestants had their answering accusation that his sister Mary had 'overlooked' him; that

His intention becomes known to the world, and causes violent irritation.

his illness became mortal from the day when she was last in his presence.*

См. 29.

In other times the popular discontent would have expressed itself in a violent form; but London was overawed by the 'gendarmerie,' who could have extinguished in blood any merely popular tumult. The council had not been formally consulted, and no opinions on either side had been officially expressed: yet none of those who were suspected of being unfavourable to the duke felt their lives secure; Cecil, walking with a friend in Greenwich Park, whispered his own misgivings; for himself, he said, he would be no party to treason, and he had resigned his office of secretary; but he went about ever after armed, in dread, he avowed, of assassination; he secreted his money and papers and prepared to fly.†

A.D. 1553.
June.

The lives of those who oppose the duke are in danger.

Meantime Northumberland had made important progress: he had persuaded Edward. Edward had consented by a strained imitation of the precedent of Henry VIII. to name his successor by letters patent, or by will; and the council and the Lords could thus be forced into an appearance of acquiescence which they would find it difficult to refuse to the entreaties of a dying prince. When Edward's mind was first set working upon the subject, the extremity of his danger was concealed from him, and Scheyfne was informed rightly, that one of the points

The duke persuades Edward to set aside Mary by letters patent.

* Scheyfne to Charles-V., May 30: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Alford to Cecil: *TITLER*, vol. ii.

CH. 29. pressed upon his consideration was the objection to a female sovereign. The plot was altogether precipitate and inconsistent: the duke had resolved on nothing beyond setting Mary aside. Some time in the beginning of June Edward wrote with his own hand what he called 'his device for the succession.'*

Edward's
device for
the suc-
cession,

'For lack of issue *male* of my body to the issue ~~male coming of the issue female, as I have after~~ declared: to the Lady Frances's† heirs males, for lack of *if she have any* such issue *before my death*: to the Lady Jane's *and her* heirs males. To the Lady Catherine's heirs males. To the Lady Mary's heirs males. To the heirs males of the daughters which she [*i.e.* the Duchess of Suffolk] shall have hereafter. Then to the Lady Margaret's heirs males.‡ For lack of such issue; to the heirs males of the Lady Jane's daughters. To the heirs males of the Lady Catherine's daughters; and so forth, till you come to the Lady Margaret's *daughters* heirs males.'§

* It was altered by him in the interval between the first draft and his death, and the omissions and insertions mark the progress of the design. The reader will observe that the words which have a pen-stroke through them were in the original device, and were subsequently crossed out. The words in italics were insertions; but, like the original, were written by Edward himself. I transcribe from the careful copy printed for the Camden Society by Mr. John Gough Nichols.—*Queen Jane*

and *Queen Mary*, Appendix, p. 89.

† Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon.

‡ Margaret Clifford, daughter of Eleanour, Countess of Cumberland.

§ The remaining clauses refer to the government during the Regency, should Edward die before the heir should be of age.

'If, after my death, the heir male be entered into 18 years

The 'device' tells its own story ; a female sovereign was not contemplated, nor was Edward, when he drew it, aware of the near approach of his death. He evidently expected to live till one or all of the three recent marriages had proved fruitful; he considered the possibility of his having children of his own; and the male offspring of his cousins was preferred to his own daughters, should daughters be born to him. But such an arrangement would not have answered Northumberland's intention. The king was now made to feel that he was dying. 'The Lady Jane's heirs males' were converted, by erasure and an insertion, into 'the Lady Jane and her heirs male.' Her mother, Lady Frances, was but thirty-seven years old and might still bear a son. This contingency was anticipated by a provision that the son, to succeed, must be born while Edward was alive. Thus altered, the weak,

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
June.
Which the
duke finds
must be
altered.

old, then he to have the whole rule and governance thereof.

'But if he be under 18, then his mother to be governess till he enter 18 years old; but to do nothing without the advice and agreement of 6 parcel of a council to be appointed by my last will to the number of 20.

'If the mother die before the heir enter into 18, the realm to be governed by the council, provided that after he be 14 years all great matters of importance be opened to him.

'If I died without issue, and there were none heirs male, then the Lady Frances to be governess Regent. For lack of her, then

her eldest daughters; and for lack of them, the Lady Margaret to be governess after, as is afore-said, till some heir male be born, and then the mother of that child to be governess.

'And if during the rule of the governess there die four of the council, then shall she by her letters call an assembly of the council within one month following, and choose four more, wherein she shall have 3 voices; but after her death, the 16 shall choose among themselves till the heir come to 14 years old, and then he by their advice shall choose them.'

CH. 29. incoherent, impracticable arrangement was submitted to the Lords as the king's desire.

A.D. 1553.
June.
In an improved form it is submitted to the council,

Who receive it with many objections.

They yield, on a promise that the alterations made by the king shall be revised by parliament.

The reception of it was not favourable. The Marquis of Winchester, Lord Bedford, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Lord Shrewsbury, and Lord Arundel made the obvious objections that the power of bequeathing the crown had been granted exceptionally to Henry VIII., for peculiar reasons; that the disposition which had been made by Henry had been confirmed by statute; and that it was grotesque to suppose that a prince under age, and unauthorized, could set aside an act of parliament at his own pleasure: * the French, too, whatever present face they might please to wear, would be as little satisfied as the Emperor; if the late king's daughter were to be set aside in favour of another queen, they would, sooner or later, insist on the prior claims of Mary Stuart. The resistance was so decided that, on the 15th of June, it was believed that Northumberland would be driven after all to take possession of Elizabeth and try his fortune thus. †

But the indispensable consent of Elizabeth herself, perhaps could not be obtained; or else among the many difficulties of a hazardous enterprise those attending the substitution of Jane Grey were the least. Northumberland could not retreat; the king was eager, and force could compensate for illegality. The lives of the opposition were in Northumberland's power; and they hesitated, or they could not on the instant

* Scheyfne: *MS.*

† Scheyfne to the Emperor: *MS.*

resolve on the course which they should pursue. Ch. 29.
 A promise was made to them that parliament A.D. 1553.
 should be called immediately, and that any steps June.
 which might be taken, should be subject to parliamentary revision.* They bent, therefore, before the immediate danger, and waited till they could have the support of the country in taking further measures.

The question of legality was referred to the judges.

On the 11th of June Chief Justice Montague received a letter, bearing the council's signatures, requiring him to present himself at Greenwich the following day, with Sir Thomas Bromley, Sir John Baker, and the Attorney- and Solicitor-General. The learned body were admitted into the king's apartment, and the king, in the last June 12. stage of exhaustion, informed them that during his illness he had reflected on the condition and prospects of the country; the Lady Mary might marry a stranger; the laws and liberties of England might be sacrificed, and religion might be changed; he desired, therefore, that the succession might be altered. The scheme, in the The king requires the judges to draw out letters patent. corrected form, was read aloud in the room, and Edward required the judges to draw out letters patent embodying his directions.

The judges listened, and declared unanimously that the king demanded an impossibility. Letters patent would have no force against an act of parliament. But Edward would hear of no objec-

* Scheyfne to the Emperor: *MS.*

CH. 29. tions. He would have the letters patent drawn,
 and drawn immediately. The judges retired,
 A.D. 1553. requesting time.
 June.

The two next days the council were in close session, the clerks and secretaries being excluded. Noailles, since the Queen of Scots had been named as a difficulty, had been admitted no further into confidence, and could learn nothing of what was going forward; only on all sides there were notes of preparation; the equipment of the fleet was hastened; a body of troops were reviewed in the Isle of Dogs, and forty pieces of cannon were shipped for Guisnes and Calais. At last an order appeared commanding all peers and great men in England to repair at once to London.*

The judges Meanwhile the judges were studying the Act
 answer of Succession, and had discovered, beyond all
 that, if they obey, they that, if they obeyed the king, they would
 will com- lay themselves open to prosecution as traitors.†
 mit high treason.
 June 15. They returned to Greenwich, and repeated to the

Northum-
 berland
 threatens
 them.

council their inability to comply. Northumberland was absent when they entered; but, hearing of their arrival and of their answer, 'he came into the council chamber, being in great rage and fury, trembling for anger; and amongst his outrageous talk he called Sir Edward Montague traitor, and said that he would fight in his shirt with any man

* Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. ii. p. 34. about to undo the act or interfere with the succession as therein ordered, should be guilty of high treason.

† The tenth section of the act declares that any person going

in the quarrel.* He was so savage, that the judges thought he would strike them, if they remained in the room. They escaped in haste; but the next day they were again sent for. They were introduced in the midst of dead silence. 'The Lords looked on them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them.' † Not a word was spoken till they were called to the king's bed-side.

Edward, dying as he was, 'with sharp words and angry countenance, asked where were the letters patent? Why had they not been drawn?' Montague said that they would be useless without an act of parliament, and when Edward answered that he would call a parliament, the Chief Justice begged that the question might be deferred till the meeting. But Edward would not hear of delay. The ratification might follow; for the present, he chose to be obeyed. A voice at Montague's back exclaimed, if the judges still refused, they were traitors. No lips were opened to support them; partly, perhaps, because the king's death-bed was not a fit place for an altercation; partly because opposition at that time might have led to instant bloodshed.‡ Bromley was

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
June 16.

Edward insists on obedience.

* Montague's Narrative: printed in FULLER's *Church History*.

† Ibid.

‡ Noailles thought that at this time the duke had gained over his opponents. On the 17th June, he says, he found the council in better spirits than he had seen them since his ar-

rival. Their own explanation was that the king's health had improved. Noailles believed, however, that their satisfaction 'provenoit plus du contentement en quoy les milords se trouvent pour s'estre resolus tous en une opinion, où pour y parvenir ont tenu beaucoup de journées, estant resserrez et ne se pouvant

CH. 29. timid, Baker would go with Sir Edward, and Sir Edward was 'an old man without comfort.' They reflected that they could not be committing treason by obeying the king as long as the king was alive; and they satisfied their consciences by resolving to meddle no further after he was gone. They demanded for their greater security special instructions in writing, and a pardon if their consent should prove to have been a crime. This being granted, they complied. The remaining judges, who were next called in, agreed to the same terms, Sir James Hales, a Protestant, alone holding out to the last. The Solicitor-General Gosnold resisted long. 'How the duke and the Earl of Shrewsbury handled him,' says Montague, 'he can tell himself.'* Gosnold, too, yielded at last, and the letters patent were drawn out, engrossed, and passed under the Great Seal. The king's sisters were declared incapable of succeeding to the crown, as being both of them illegitimate. With a strange inconsequence of reasoning, it was added that, even had their birth been pure, being but of half-blood to the king, they would not be his heirs ;† and, further, they might compromise

A.D. 1553.
June 16.
The judges,
finding no
support
among the
Lords,
comply,

And the
letters pa-
tent are
completed,

accorder pour raison de ce que le milord tresorier et au leurs autres estoient de contrarie volenté à celle du Duc de Northumberland, lequel les avoit depuis unis et faict condescendre a la sienne.' — NOAILLES, vol. ii. p. 40. Scheyfne, on the contrary, was assured, and believed, that the compliance was throughout assumed.

* It were curious to know—Shrewsbury had been active in opposition to the duke, and, after Edward's death, was among the first to declare against him.

† 'As also for that the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth be unto us but of the half-blood, and, therefore, by the antient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto

the country by undesirable marriages. The suc- CH. 29.
cession was therefore disposed in the altered order
which Edward had prescribed; and the document A.D. 1553.
being prepared, it remained only that Northum- June 16.
berland should compel every one whose rank or
influence made him formidable, to commit him-
self to the substitution by his signature.

On the 21st of June he collected at Greenwich June 21.
the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chan- And
cellor, twenty-two peers, eight eldest sons of signed;
peers, ministers, secretaries of state, judges,
officers of the household. Of all whose support
would be useful, of all whose opposition had to be
dreaded, Lord William Howard and Lord Derby
alone were absent, and Lord Derby was repre-
sented by his son. The rest came together at
the duke's bidding, and, willingly or unwillingly,
gave their names to his design.*

us, although they were legiti-
mate, as they be not indeed.'—
Letters Patent for the Limitation
of the Crown: *Queen Jane and
Queen Mary*, p. 93.

* I transcribe Mr. Nichols's
excellent analysis of the signa-
tures:—

Great Officers of State and
Peers:

The Archbishop of Canter-
bury; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely,
Lord Chancellor; Marquis of
Winchester, Lord Treasurer;
Duke of Northumberland, Grand
Master of the Household; Earl
of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal;
Duke of Suffolk; Marquis of
Northampton; Earls of Arundel,
Oxford, Westmoreland, Shrews-

bury, Worcester, Huntingdon,
and Pembroke; Lord Clinton,
Lord Darcy; the Bishop of Lon-
don; Lords Abergavenny, Cob-
ham, Grey de Wilton, Windsor,
Bray, Wentworth, Rich, Wil-
loughby, and Paget.

Eldest Sons of Peers:

Lords, Warwick, son of the
Duke of Northumberland, Fitz-
walters, of the Earl of Sussex,
Talbot, of the Earl of Shrews-
bury, St. John of Basing, of
the Marquis of Winchester,
Russell, of the Earl of Bedford,
Fitzwarren, of the Earl of Bath,
Gerald Fitzgerald, heir of the
earldom of Kildare, Strange,
son of Lord Derby, Lord

CH. 29. They signed without order; ardent Protestants
 A.D. 1553. side by side with the attached friends of Mary;
 June 21. city merchants intermixed with privy councillors;
 and some names appear in so singular a connexion,
 that it is hazardous to suggest the principle
 which guided the arrangement.* The judges,
 when they produced the document, again pro-
 tested that it was worthless, and they must have
 signed as a form; Cecil, after long refusal, wrote

Thomas Grey, brother of the
 Duke of Suffolk.

Officers of the Household:

Sir R. Cheyne, Treasurer and
 Warden of the Cinq Ports, com-
 monly called Lord Warden; Sir
 William Cavendish, Treasurer of
 the Chamber; Sir Richard Cot-
 ton, Controller; Sir John Gates,
 Vice-Chamberlain.

Secretaries of State:

Sir William Petre, Sir Wil-
 liam Cecil, Sir John Cheke.

Judges:

Sir Roger Cholmeley, Chief
 Justice of the King's Bench; Sir
 Edward Montague, Chief Justice
 of the Common Pleas; Henry
 Bradshaw, Chief Baron of the
 Exchequer; Sir John Baker,
 Chancellor of the Exchequer;
 Sir Humfrey Brown, Justice of
 the Common Pleas; Sir William
 Portman, Justice of the King's
 Bench; Sir Robert Bowes, Mas-
 ter of the Rolls.

The King's Sergeant:
 James Dyer.

The Solicitor-General:
 John Gosnold.

Privy Councillors:
 Sir John Mason, Sir Ralph

Sadler, Sir Richard Sackville,
 Sir Edward North, Sir Anthony
 St. Leger, Sir Richard South-
 well.

Knights of the Privy
 Chamber:

Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Henry
 Sydney, Sir Maurice Berkeley,
 Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir
 Richard Blount, Sir Henry
 Gage.

[The Lord Mayor: Sir George
 Barnes.

Aldermen: Sir John Gresham,
 Sir Andrew Judd, Sir Richard
 Dobbs, Sir Augustine Hinde, Sir
 John Lambard, Sir Thomas
 Offley.

Sheriff of Middlesex: Sir Wil-
 liam Garrard.

Sheriffs of Kent and Surrey:
 Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Robert
 Southwell.

Six Merchants of the Staple;
 Six Merchant Adventurers.]

The mayor and the citizens
 did not sign till the 8th of
 July.

* Lord Paget, for instance, is
 separated from the peers, and
 appears between Sir Anthony
 St. Leger and Sir Thomas Wroth.

his name at last at the king's desire; but insisting, CH. 29.
as he did it, that he signed only as a witness. A.D. 1553.
June.
Many, perhaps, like Montague, saved their con-
sciences with an intention of resisting afterwards But the
opposition
is not at
an end.
when the king should have died. Some signed,
it can hardly be doubted, with a deliberate inten-
tion of deceiving and betraying the Duke of
Northumberland. Winchester, Bedford, and
Cheyne continued their opposition, notwith-
standing their apparent compliance; and were
insisting in council, two days after, on the neces-
sity of maintaining the original Act of Succession.*

Cranmer, though he headed the list, was the Cranmer
was the
last to
sign.
last who subscribed on the 21st of June. The arch-
bishop, who had been on bad terms with the duke
since Somerset's death, was among the latest to
be informed of his project. He, of all men, had
most to fear from the accession of the daughter
of Queen Catherine; but Northumberland knew
his disposition too well to seek his confidence or
expect his support;† he had been informed only as
soon as his outward concurrence became necessary.
On learning the duke's intentions, he went at He had re-
monstrated
with the
king.
once to Edward, and, in the presence of Lord
Northampton, remonstrated with him. Finding
the king obstinate, he requested a private audience,
which the duke was too prudent to permit. He
then endeavoured to move the council. North-

* Scheyne to Charles V., my destruction, that he would
June 23. ever trust me in such a matter,

† 'The duke never opened or think that I would be per-
his mouth to me to move me; suaded by him.'—Cranmer to
nor his heart was not such Mary: STREYKE'S *Life of Cran-*
towards me, seeking long time mer.

CH. 29. umberland told him that the judges had acquiesced, and that it was not for him to interfere with the king's pleasure;* yet he continued to hold off, and, finding his remonstrances useless, he absented himself from Greenwich on the day of the signature. But the archbishop's name could not be dispensed with. He was sent for, and came in only after the rest had signed. He said that he had sworn to maintain the will of Henry VIII. If he signed the letters patent, he was perjured. The duke and his friends replied that they had sworn as well as he, and if he had a conscience, so had they. He did not judge their consciences, he said, but he must act for himself by his own. He would not sign till he had again seen his master; and he was taken to the king's room.

He long refused to give his name,

Edward there assured him that the change of the succession had the sanction of the judges; neither himself nor his subjects could be bound by his father's will; he had a right to act for the good of the commonwealth by his own judgment.† The archbishop had not been present at Montague's protest, and knew nothing of it. He desired to see the judges himself; and the judges having satisfied their own consciences that treason was not treason while the king lived, now told him that he might sign, if he wished it, without breach of the law. He returned, still hesitating, to the king's bedside. Edward told him he hoped that he would not stand out alone, 'and be

And signed at last only on Edward's personal entreaty.

* STYPER'S *Life of Cranmer*.

† Ibid.

more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council;' and at this last appeal the archbishop yielded. Others signed with mental reservations, of which, in their subsequent defence of themselves, they made the most. Cranmer made no reservations, and pretended to none. When called to account by Mary, he said frankly that, when he signed at last, 'he did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation.'*

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
June.

The letters patent were thus completed; but the duke still felt himself insecure, and those who might be suspected of equivocating were compelled to bind themselves with a second chain. An engagement was attached to the king's autograph device, by which all the council, except Lord Arundel, promised that they would maintain the succession as it was then determined, 'to the uttermost of their power,' and 'never at any time during their lives would swerve from it.'†

The council are further bound by a second engagement.

The last precautions were thus taken, and the conspirators had to sit still till the king's death, which was now every day expected. Since the 11th of June he had eaten nothing; on the 14th he was thought at one time to be gone. The care of him was now exclusively com-

The management of the king is committed to a woman.

* STYKE'S *Life of Cranmer.*

† *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 90.—Montague subscribed to this, with Baker and the Attorney- and Solicitor-General, although they had assured the council to the last that the letters patent were valueless, and had, as they said, resolved to

move no step, after the king's death, to carry them into effect. I suppose that the bond was devised to catch those who might have signed with reservations, and the judges, having given their names once, could not help themselves.

CH. 29. A.D. 1553. June. Strange symptoms show themselves, and suspicions go abroad of poison. mitted to the nameless woman, who, when the physicians despaired, had professed a belief that she could effect a cure.* But his disorder evidently grew worse, and assumed anomalous forms; it was said to be an affection of the lungs; but symptoms appeared which could have been occasioned by no disorder of the lungs. Eruptions came out over his skin; his hair fell off, and then his nails, and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers;† and rumour said that Northumberland, having made his arrangements, could not afford to wait, and was hastening the natural arrival of death with poison.‡

While these events were in progress, Mary, whom the duke believed to be ignorant of all that had passed, found means, though she was narrowly watched, to communicate with Scheyfne,

* HAYWARD's *Life of Edward VI.* Scheyfne.

† SCHEYFNE.

‡ The suspicion that Edward was poisoned was shared both by Catholic and Protestant. Machyn, a contemporary citizen of London, says that no one doubted it.—*Diary*, p. 35. Burcher, writing to Bullinger, says: 'That wretch, the Duke of Northumberland, has committed an enormous crime. Our excellent king was taken off by poison; his nails and hair fell off,' &c. Renard, on the 6th of August, informed Charles V. that, by Mary's order, Edward's body had been examined, and it was found 'que les artoix des pieds luy estoient tumbes et qu'il a esté empoisonné.' — Renard's Despatches:

MS. Rolls House. The symptoms, certainly, do not resemble those of any known disorder. On the other hand, when a life came to an end on which much depended, there was always a suspicion of poison; and although Northumberland was not a man to have hesitated, had the acceleration of the death been important to him, he would have gained no advantage from it in the least commensurate with the crime. The probable truth was perhaps this: that the woman to whose exclusive care the king was culpably committed, administered mineral medicines in over-doses, and that Edward was in fact poisoned, though not by deliberate malice.

and desired him to let the Emperor know her situation, and ask his advice. On the 23rd of June a rising was expected in London.* The Protestant clergy, who were the only persons that heartily exerted themselves in the conspiracy, gave out in their pulpits that the king was dying, and that religion would be in danger from Mary. The people listened so ominously, that the guards at the gates were doubled. The Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the other prisoners in the Tower, who had been allowed to walk on the leads and in the gardens, were confined to their rooms; Lord Dacres, who was leaving London, was detained, and other suspected persons were arrested; and on the 24th of June Scheyfne was told that the duke found his embarrassments so great, that he was giving up the game. Three quarters of the country were determined to support Mary, and her friends on the council sent a message through Scheyfne to the Emperor, to say that the slightest demonstration, on his part, in his cousin's favour, would suffice to ensure her accession.†

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
June.
Mary sends for advice to the Emperor.
The clergy attempt to irritate the people against her;

June 24.
But they do not succeed, and her friends are confident.

In his extremity Northumberland was obliged again to appeal to France. It was now whispered at Paris that, should Mary become queen, Charles had already destined her for Philip of Spain, and the union of England and Spain, under a common sovereign, was a danger which every French statesman felt himself called upon

Northumberland again connects himself with France,

* NOAILLES.

† Scheyfne to Charles V.: *MS. Rolls House.*

CH. 29. to make an effort to prevent. In the last week in June, therefore, fresh communications passed between the King of France and the conspirators; promises were given of help, at which the duke recovered heart; he demanded a loan of the city, and when there was hesitation, he threatened that the voluntary loan should be a forced one. Troops were raised in all directions; the forts in Essex were dismantled of cannon to furnish the fleet; and by the 1st of July twenty sail were ready armed and manned at Greenwich to intercept any descent which might be attempted from Flanders: Scheyfne comforted himself with ascertaining that the crews had been pressed, and were not to be depended on; but the preparations in London threatened to crush resistance in the capital.

A.D. 1553.
June 27.
And pre-
pares to
crush oppo-
sition by
force.

July 4. On the 4th of July the king was believed to be dead. A wan ghastly face had been seen at a window of the palace at Greenwich; Edward had been lifted out of bed, and carried to the casement, that the people might assure themselves with their own eyes that he was living. But the suspicion was only deepened; the spectators believed that they had seen a corpse.* Scheyfne was informed minutely of the circumstances of the letters patent, which had before been only gradually communicated to him. Parliament would meet in September, when it was likely that all would go well again; but the danger was that in the meantime Mary would be made away with. She had been warned

Mary is
warned to
fly to Nor-
folk.

* SCHEYFNE.

by some secret friend to move further from London, if possible, to Framlingham Castle, in Norfolk, where she would find friends.*

CH. 29.
A.D. 1553.
July.

On the first Sunday in the month it was observed that the preacher at Paul's Cross 'did neither pray for the Lady Mary's Grace, nor the Lady Elizabeth's.'† On the Friday following the French ambassador detected an unusual movement: he had been promised an audience, but a message was brought to put him off. There was no longer any king in England. On the evening of Thursday, the 6th of July, the anniversary, as pious Catholics did not fail to observe, of the execution of Sir Thomas More, the last male child of the Tudor race had ceased to suffer.

Edward
dies.

* Scheyfne to the Emperor, July 4.

† *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*